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The Fables of Aesop

as first printed by WILLIAM CAXTON *in 1484*

with those of Avian, Alfonso and Poggio,

now again edited and induced

by Joseph Jacobs.

I.

HISTORY OF THE ÆSOPIC FABLE.

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JACKSO
MEMORIA
COLLECTIO

JJA-K-17

LONDON. PUBLISHED BY DAVID NUTT IN THE STRAND. M.D.CCCLXXXIX.

1889

00087106

TO

MY BROTHERS

SYDNEY, EDWIN, LOUIS

TO WHOM I OWE

ALL

Esop.

He sat among the woods, he heard
The sylvan merriment; he saw
The pranks of butterfly and bird,
The humours of the ape, the daw.

And in the lion or the frog—
In all the life of moor and fen,
In ass and peacock, stork and log,
He read similitudes of men.

"Of these, from those," he cried, "we come,
Our hearts, our brains descend from these."
And lo! the Beasts no more were dumb,
But answered out of brakes and trees;

"Not ours," they cried; "Degenerate,
If ours at all," they cried again,
"Ye fools, who war with God and Fate,
Who strive and toil: strange race of men,

"For *we* are neither bond nor free,
For *we* have neither slaves nor kings,
But near to Nature's heart are we,
And conscious of her secret things.

"Content are we to fall asleep,
And well content to wake no more,
We do not laugh, we do not weep,
Nor look behind us and before;

"But were there cause for moan or mirth,
'Tis *we*, not you, should sigh or scorn,
Oh, latest children of the Earth
Most childish children Earth has borne."

They spoke, but that misshapen Slave
Told never of the thing he heard,
And unto men their portraits gave,
In likenesses of beast and bird!

A. L.

PREFACE.

ESOP'S Fables are the first book one reads, or at least the first tales one hears. It seems, therefore, appropriate to reproduce them in the first form in which they appeared among English books, translated and printed by William Caxton 'at Westmynster in thabbey' during the spring of 1484, eight years before the discovery of America. Richard Crookback had just doffed Buckingham's head, and was passing through his first and only Parliament the most intelligent set of laws that any English King had added to the Statute Book. Among these was one which excepted foreign printers from the restrictions that were put upon aliens (1 Ric. III.

c. 9). At that moment Caxton was justifying the exceptional favour by producing the book which was to form his most popular production, and indeed one of the most popular books that have issued from the English press.

The interest of this reprint is literary rather than typographical: we are concerned here with Caxton as an author, to whom scant justice has been done, rather than with Caxton as a printer, whose name can never be uttered without the Oriental wish, 'God cool his resting-place.' To illustrate the history of printing nothing other than a facsimile reprint would suffice the student, and facsimile reprints of Caxton's heavy and rude Gothic type are unreadable. We have, however, reproduced his text with such fidelity as we could command, even to the extent of retaining his misprints. If we have occasionally added some of our own, we shall be forgiven by those who know the exhausting work of collating Gothic and ordinary type;

we have blazoned Caxton's carelessness and our own on p. 318 of vol. ii. On the few occasions where a letter had slipped or had been elevated above the line, we have reproduced the peculiarity of the original in our text, as on pp. 79, 224.

On the typographical peculiarities of the original—how it is composed in the fourth fount used by Caxton, and so on—we need not dilate here. Are not these things written, once for all, in the Chronicles of Blades (W. Blades' *Life and Work of Caxton*, ii. 157–60), one of the few final books written by an Englishman? Caxton's 'Esope' is distinguished in the history of English printing by being the first book to possess initial letters. A facsimile of the first of these, appropriately enough the letter A, is given at the beginning of this Preface. In the original every fable is accompanied by a woodcut: we give a few of these, reduced in size: they claim no merit but that of the grotesque.

Our text was copied from the Bodleian

exemplar. There are but two others—one, the only perfect text, in the Queen's library, and the other at the British Museum: the rest of the copies have been thumbed out of existence. I have corrected proofs from the Museum copy, having had all facilities given me for the purpose by the courtesy of Mr. Bullen.

In the original the Fables are preceded by the apocryphal Life of Æsop attributed to Planudes. This belongs to quite another *genre* of writing—the Noodle literature. To have included this would have extended the book, already stretching beyond the prescribed limits of the series in which it appears, by nearly 100 pages. I had therefore to choose whether to omit this or to leave out the Fables of Avian, Alphonse and Poggio, which have closer connection with the Fables of Æsop. I have elected to begin with folio xxvj of the original, passing over the Life of Æsop, with the exception of its first sentence, out of which has been concocted a title-page to the text.

In the Introduction I had first to give the latest word of literary science,—there is such a thing,—on the many intricate questions connected with the *provenance* and history of the Æsopic Fable. I have endeavoured to bring within moderate compass the cardinal points of a whole literature of critical investigation which has not been brought within one survey since Edélestand du Méril made a premature attempt to do so in 1854. Since his time much has been cleared up which to him was obscure—notably by Benfey and Fausböll on the Oriental sources, by Crusius on Babrius, by Oesterley and Hervieux on the derivates of Phædrus, and by Mall on Marie de France. Owing to their labours the time seemed to me ripe to make a bold stroke for it, and to give for the first time a history of the Æsopic Fable in the light of modern research. I could only do this by making an attempt to fill up the many gaps left by my predecessors, and to supply the missing links required to connect their investigations. On almost all the

knotty points left undecided by them—the literary source of Phædrus—who wrote Æsop—and why his name is connected with the Fables—the true nature of Libyan Fable, and the identity of its putative parent, Kybises—the source of Talmudic Fable and its crucial importance for the ancient history of the Fable—the Indian origin of the Proverbs of Agur (Prov. xxx.)—the conduit-pipe by which the Indian Jātakas reached the Hellenic world and the common source of the Jātakas and the Bidpai—the origin of the Morals of Fables—the determination of the Indian elements in Latin Fable—the existence of a larger Arabic Æsop, and its relations to the collections of Marie de France and Berachyah ha-Nakdan, and to Armenian Fable—the identification of Marie's immediate source, Alfred—the date and domicile of Berachyah ha-Nakdan—the distinction between Beast-Fable and Beast-Satire—on all these points I have been able to make suggestions more or less plausible, which will at the worst afford ob-

jectives for further research, and make
Æsopic problem more definite hencef
I have told the tale backwards, conc
where certainty has been reached, in d
on points still *sub judice*.

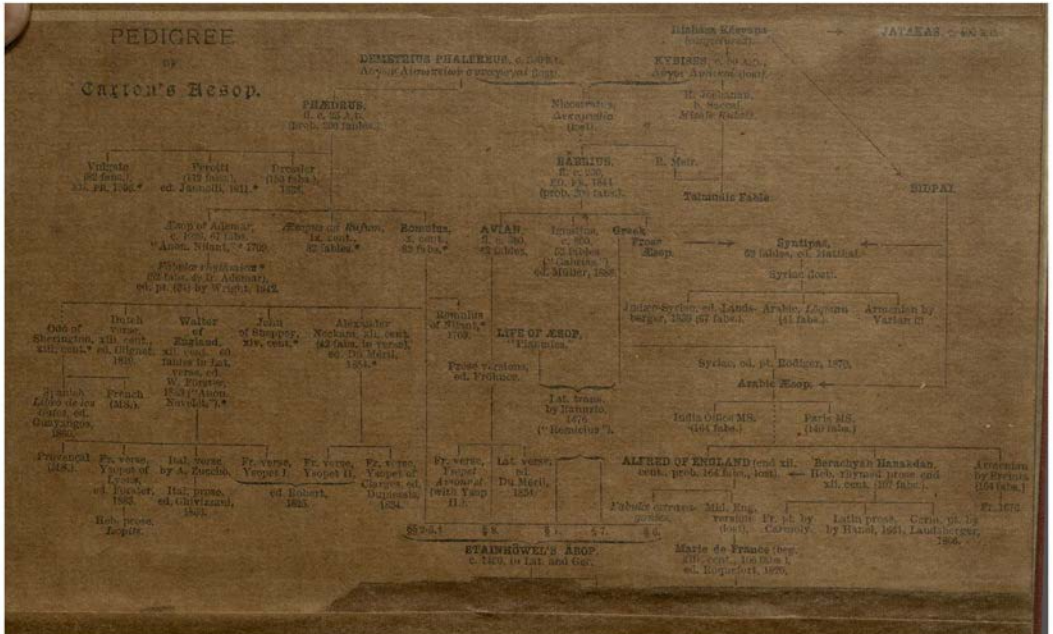
It was time at least that some contr
tion to the history of the Æsopic F
should issue from England, which has d
nothing in this direction since Bentl
day. For England, as I have shown,
the home of the Fable during the ea
Middle Age, and the centre of dispers
whence the Mediæval Æsop spread thro
Europe. It owed this to its command
position among the Romance nations,
head of the Angevin Empire, just at
time when European literature was be
crossfertilized by new germs from the E
I hope to show before long that much
same history applies to the developmen
Romance. It seemed appropriate, I
add, to prefix this contribution to the
tory of the European Æsop to Caxt
edition, because this has the same

and arrangement as the first printed
ps in the chief languages of modern
pe.

have summed up the results in the
gree of the Fables; I trust that the
corner of this, which contains most
ny novelties, will not turn out merely
ontain so many critical ninepins put up
to be bowled over. The literary his-
of each fable is given in the Synopsis
Parallelisms. They are here brought
ether for the first time: Oesterley's
erences, which form the nucleus of my
lections, have to be sought for from
ong five different works. I have omitted
e of his references, but have added far
re than I have omitted, more indeed
n I have taken. For the literature of
last twenty years, and for the English
some of the Oriental sources, I have
to make my own collections. The
ssary at the end of the book is intended
to record for philologists Caxton's
seology than to assist readers to under-

tand it, which they will find little difficulty n doing.

I have now only to thank the friends who ave associated themselves in various ways ith my work. Mr. Andrew Lang has ntroduced it with his brilliant lines on the pportunities Æsop missed. Mr. Henry Ryland embellishes the text with his charmng design of the eponymous hero of the Fable, alone with Nature and the birds and beasts he must have loved so well. Dr. ames Gow and Mr. S. Schechter have hecked my classical and Talmudical reerences respectively, though these scholars re not, of course, to be held responsible or the inferences I draw from them. Mr. Alfred Nutt has throughout given me the benefit of his knowledge, judgment and taste. And lastly, Dr. R. Gottheil was good enough to undertake a search for a larger Arabic Æsop among the European collections of Oriental MSS. he was visiting.


PEDIGREE
OF
Caxton's Æsop.
DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, c. B.C.
Æsopi Alexandrini ὑπερτερηθέντος
PHÆDRUS.
fl. c. 25 A.D.
Prob. 200 fables.
Vulgate
(62 fables).
Ed. Pr. 1709.*
Pithœi
(119 fables).
ed. Jacobs, 1811.*
Dressler
(103 fabs.).
1625.
Æsop of Adenar,
c. 950, (4 fabs.
"Adem. Nihani," c. 1700.
Fifteen Additional *
(62 fabs.) of D'Adenar),
ed. pr. 1740 by Wright, 1842.
Æsopus de Rufino,
1st cent.,
57 fables.*
ROMULUS,
X. cent.,
82 fabs.*
AVIAN
fl. c. 380
42 fables.
Romulus
of Nilant.*
1709.
Ignotus,
c. 850,
(3 fabs.
Cadenet.)
ed. Müller, 1880.
Greek
Prose
Æsop.
Syntipas,
(29 fables, ed. Matthæi
Syriac (lost).
Syriac-Syrian, ed. Landsberger, 1909 (57 fabs.)
Arabic Æsop.
(41 fabs.)
Armenian by Varian (?)
Syrian, ed. pt. Rodiger, 1870.
Arabic Æsop. ←
India Office MS.
(466 fabs.)
Paris MS.
(140 fabs.)
Odo of
Sherington, xiii cent.
xiii. cent.* ed. Oliphant,
1880.
Walter
of
England,
xii. cent. 60
fables in Lat.
verse, ed.
W. Forster,
1888; Anon.
Nevelet.*
John
of Sheppey,
xiv. cent.*
Alexander
Neckam, xii. cent.
(42 fabs. in verse),
ed. Du Méril,
1854.*
Romulus of Nilant.*
LIFE OF ÆSOP,
"Vita Æsopi."
Prose versions,
ed. Prolioux.
Lat. trans.
by Rinuccio,
1476
("Romulus").
Hebrew,
Libro de los
Gatos, ed.
Gunzsburg,
1865.
French
(MS.).
Anon.
Nevelet.*
Provençal
(MS.).
Fr. verse,
Yvoyet I.
Ital. verse
by A. Zucchi,
Lyons,
ed. Flœdner,
1905.
Ital. prose,
1565,
ed. Ghivizzani,
1865.
Fr. verse,
Yvoyet II.
Fr. verse,
Verger of
Clergie, ed.
Robert,
1825.
Fr. verse,
Verger of
Clergie, ed.
Duplessis,
1834.
Fr. verse,
Yvoyet
Avionet
(with Yvoy
II.).
Lat. verse,
Nil
Du Méril,
1854.
ALFRED OF ENGLAND (end xii. cent., prob. 164 fabs., lost).
Berachyah Hanaddan,
Heb. Thrush prose end
xii. cent. 107 fabs.).
Armenian
by Erenus
(104 fabs.)
Fr. 1678.
Fabulæ extravagantes,
Mid. Eng.
versions
(lost).
Fr. pr. by
Caxton,
1484.
Latin prose,
by Hulet, 1661.
Germ. pr. by
Landsberger,
1896.
Marie de France (beg.
XIII. cent., 100 fabs.),
ed. Roquefort, 1820.
STAINHÖWEL'S ÆSOP
c. 1479, in Lat. and Ger.
Hitâhâma Kâthâ
(incomplete).
JATAKAS, c. 400 B.C.
KYBISES, c. 50 A.C.,
Æsopi Apotheosis (lost).
H. Josephus,
5th cent.,
Mishle Sendebar.
Nicostratus,
Æsopiades
(lost).
BABRIUS.
fl. c. 230,
ED. Pr. 1844
(Prob. 200 fabs.).
R. Meir.
Talmudic Fable.
SIDPAI.

The Fables of Aesop.

I.

From the Bayeux Tapestry.

HISTORY
OF
THE ÆSOPIC FABLE.

I.—THE MEDIÆVAL ÆSOP.

Wie künte man ein feiner buch in weltlicher heidnischer weisheit machen, denn das gemeine, aldere kinderbuch ist, so Esopus heisst.—M. LUTHER, *Auslegung der 101 Psalm* (1534).

Our Æsop is Phædrus with trimmings. That, to put it shortly, is the outcome of some half a century's investigation into the origin of the Æsopic fable, conducted mainly by French scholars.* Begun by M. Robert in his elaborate edition of Lafontaine in 1825, it was continued in very thoroughgoing fashion by M. Edélestand du Méril in his *Histoire de la fable ésopique* in 1854, and has culminated in the colossal work of M. L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins* (1884), which gives the raw mate-

* It is but fair, however, to add the name of Hermann Oesterley to the French triumvirate about to be mentioned. His *Romulus, die Paraphrasen des Phædrus und die æsopische Fabel im Mittelalter* (1870) contains much valuable material in very accessible form.

rial, the very raw material, from which the history of the Latin Mediæval Æsop can now be definitively settled.

M. Hervieux's work has itself a history which deserves to be briefly recited. M. Hervieux, a lawyer of some distinction, has daughters whom he desired to initiate into the beauties of Latin literature. The choice of books suitable for such young persons is, we know, somewhat limited, and M. Hervieux wisely fixed upon Phædrus, which he determined to translate for their use. But in order to translate, you must have a fixed text; and M. Hervieux found that of Phædrus by no means fixed; he found moreover that even the number of Phædrine fables was an independent variable. His interest was aroused and he determined to see the matter out. And he did see the matter out, though everything seemed against him at the start; he had received no philological training and had never had a Latin MS. in his hands. In the course of his researches he visited almost every library of importance lying between the Isis and the Elbe, between Cambridge and Rome. Meanwhile, let it be parenthetically observed, the Mlles. Hervieux

ad become Mesdames N. and M., and M. ervieux has probably long ere this learned e art of being grandfather. The results his critical Odyssey ultimately appeared me five years ago in the shape of two lky tomes, running to 1500 pages, Ger- an in their thoroughness, German also in eir want of *netteté* and *coup d'œil*.* He s given in the first of these volumes a full d accurate account of all the MSS. of Phae- us and his imitators, with slight biographi- l sketches of their authors, scribes, owners d owners' grandfathers, and in his second volume he has edited the whole *Corpus* of Latin fabulists from Phædrus to Neckam.† It must be our first task to get a ground-plan to this forest of investigations in which it is by no means easy to find one's way owing to the num- ber of the trees and the size of their branches.‡

* I hope M. Hervieux will pardon this. One of the few touches which lighten his pages is the recital of his patriotic scruples in applying to German librarians, who as a general rule have responded with a courtesy that might have softened a Hannibal.

† With an important exception: he has reserved Avian and his adapters for a future occasion.

‡ M. Gaston Paris has given an admirable *compte-*

We cannot, perhaps, begin better than by taking to pieces the book we have in our hands, Caxton's version of Jules Machault's translation of Stainhöwel's *Æsop*, in which the mediæval collections were first brought together in print. Caxton's book is composed of ten sections: the first, the so-called "Life of Æsop," we have omitted; the last three are connected with the names of Avian, "Alfonce," and "Poge," which will concern us later. The remaining six are the "Fables of Æsop," as we meet with them in Mediæval literature. And of these, again, the first four are found in separate form connected with the name of "Romulus," whom mediæval scribes have at times raised to the Imperial throne of Rome. Let us for the present concentrate our attention on the information which M. Hervieux's pages convey as to this "Romulus" and the many books connected with it.

There are three families of MSS. and versions connected with the "Romulus" fables, neglecting various abstracts or combinations

rendu of M. Hervieux's work in the *Journal des Savants*, 1884–5, to which I am much indebted in what immediately follows.

of the three.* There is first the "Romulus" itself, consisting of eighty-three fables divided in the Vulgate edition rather irregularly in four books; the earliest MS. of this (the Burnelian in the British Museum) dates from the tenth century. Then comes a recension represented in a MS. formerly at Wisseburg, now at Wolfenbüttel, containing eighty-two fables and known as the "Æsopus ad Rufum." Finally there is a collection of sixty-seven Romuleon fables first published by Nilant in 1709, and known accordingly as the "Anonymus Nilanti," but now ascertained to have been compiled by the chronicler Ademar de Chabannes (988–1030), before his departure for the Holy Land in 1029. These three collections, "Romulus," "Æsopus ad Rufum,"† and the Æsop of Ademar, represent three stages back-

* Among these the only one of interest is the collection contained in double form in the mediæval encyclopedia, the *Speculum majus* of the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais (1254). The "Romulus of Nilant" (not to be confounded with the "Anonymus of Nilant") has its interest in another connection. (See *infra*, p. 101.)

† For clearness' sake, I leave out of account the "Rufus" in what follows. Its exact relation to Ademar and Romulus is the subject of dispute between Oesterley, L. Mueller, Heydenreich, and MM. Paris and Hervieux, and I will not attempt to decide where such doctors disagree.

wards to the origin of the Mediæval Æso
The "Romulus" is near, the "Rufus" is neare
and the Ademar is nearest the source. Th
turns out be Phædrus and Phædrus alon
though in a more extended form than w
know him at school.

It is well-known that the book we read a
school "'twixt smiling and tears," contai
some of the fables associated with the nam
of Æsop. The first five fables of the fir
book, for example, deal with such familia
topics as *The Wolf and Lamb*, *The Frogs d
siring a King*, *The Jay in Peacock's Feather
The Dog and Shadow*, and *The Lion's Shar
On the other hand Fables equally familiar lik
The Lion and Mouse, *The Town and Countr
Mouse*, *The Ass and Lap-dog*, *The Wolf an
Kid*, and *The Belly and Members* fail to fin
a place in the ordinary editions of Phædru
Is this because they are taken from anothe
source, or did Phædrus write more fables tha
are contained in the vulgate edition? Th
latter is the alternative towards which we are
led by a careful examination of the prose
versions, especially of the Æsop of Ademar.

Ademar's collection is, as we have said, com-

osed of sixty-seven fables. Of these thirty-
ven occur in the ordinary Phædrus, and on
pection it becomes clear that they were
en direct from it with only sufficient altera-
n to turn them from verse to prose.* Let
take as an example the Fable of *The Wolf
d Crane*, which will often meet us later on
other connections. Here is Phædrus' ren-
ering:—

FAB. VIII.—LVPVS ET GRVIS.

Qui pretium meriti ab improbis desiderat,
Bis peccat: primum, quoniam indignos adiuvat;
Impune abire deinde quia iam non potest.

Os devoratum fauce quum haereret lupi,
Magno dolore victus coepit singulos
Iudicere pretio, ut illud extraherent malum.
Tandem persuasa est iure iurando gruis,
Gulaeque credens colli longitudinem,
Periculosam fecit medicinam lupo.
Pro quo cum pactum flagitaret praemium:
Ingrata es, inquit, ore quae nostro caput
Incolume abstuleris, et mercedem postules.

Now let us take Ademar's prose adaptation and arrange it in lines like the original, for

* The earliest MS. of Phædrus, the Codex Pithoeanus, is written continuously, as if in prose.

this purpose restoring the moral to the beginning. The italicised words and inflections will show how slight have been the changes.

LXIV. [LUPUS ET GRUIS.]

Qui pretium meriti ab improbo desiderat
plus peccat: primum quod indignos juvat
impor*tu*ne, deinde quia *ingratus postulat quod in-*
plere non possit*
Lup*us*, osse devorato fauce *in*haeso,
magno dolore victus coepit singulos
promissionibus et praemio deprecari ut illud extra-
here*tur* malum.
Tandem persuas*um* iureiurando gru*em*
gulae credens colli longitudinem
optulit † *se* pericu*lo*, *et* fecit medic*amen* lupo.
A quo cum pactum flagitaret praemium:
Ingra*tum* est, inquit, or*i* nostro quod caput
incolume extuleris; *pro hoc* et mercedem *a nobis in-*
super postul*are videris.*

No one can doubt that the writer of the prose version, execrable as it is, had before him the verses of Phædrus. Or if any still doubt, let him compare the still more execrable version in the "Romulus" which forms the

* Ademar has scarcely improved the moral.

† What is the subject here? In mangling his theft to disguise its identity, Ademar has in effect made the wolf look down his own throat.

basis of Caxton's version of the Fable (vol. ii. 13), through the French of Machault.

8. QUI *cunque malo vult bene facere satis* PECCAT
De quo simili audi fabulam

Ossa lup*us* cum devora*ret* · *unum ex illis* hesit *ei in* ucibus · *transuersum grauiter* · *Inuitauit lupus mag-* pretio *qui cum* extraheret malum. *Rogabatur* uis *collo longo* · *ut prestaret* lupo medicinam. *Id* sset *ut mitteret caput et extraheret malum de fau-* ius. *Sanus cum esset lupus* · *rogabat gruis petitores* ldi *sibi promissa* premi*a*. *et lupus* · *dicitur dixisse* · grata est *illa gruis* que caput incolume *extulit* · *non* xatum *dente nostro* et mercedem *sibi* postul*at*. *O* *injuriam meis uirtutibus* · *Parabola hec illos monet* · *i uolunt bene facere malis.**

Here we have had to italicise nearly the whole fable as verbally different from the Phædrine original. Comparing the Ademar and the Romulus it is clear that the former had, and the latter had not, the actual words of Phædrus as a model. But if Ademar so slavishly follows Phædrus in the thirty-seven fables which he has in common with the Latin fabulist in the ordinary edition, the presump-

* Rom. i. 8. Oest. Wherever I quote "Rom." it is to "Romulus," as edited by Oesterley; "Ro" refers to the English version of Caxton.

tion is that he had metrical versions befo
him in the thirty fables which do not exist
the ordinary Phædrus.

We can scarcely, however, hope to reste
the original from Ademar's versions. It
clear from the above example of his meth
that he rarely leaves a line intact; thus, on
the fifth line is left untouched in the abo
though the tenth is but slightly altered
preserves the metre even in the altered for
Hence we can only expect to recover a l
here and there. And this is exactly what
can do. Thus, in Ademar's version of *T*
Town and Country Mouse (Adem. 13, R
I. xii.), the iambic trimeter of the line—

perduxit precibus post in urbem rusticum,

proves its Phædrine origin. So too in *The A*
and Lapdog (Adem. 17, Ro. I. xvii.)—

clamore domini concitatur [omnis familia],

and in *The Lion and Mouse* (Adem. 18, Ro.
I. xviii.), though again with a slight halt—

sic mus leonem captum liberum [silvis restituit].

Again the Phædrine origin of the story of Androclus (Adem. 35, Ro. III. i.) is proved by the line—

sublatum et hominis posuit in gremio pedem,

or that of *The Horse and Ass* (Adem. 37, Ro. III. iii.) by the lines—

reticuit ille et gemitu testatur deos.
equus currendo ruptus parvo in tempore
ad villam est missus. Nunc onustum stercore
ut vidit asinus tali eum irrisit [verbo].*

It is rare, however, that Ademar forgets his e of plagiator for so many consecutive lines, d in no case can we restore a complete fable om his version. Indeed, the only case where is is possible occurs in the *Æsopus ad Rufum* a fable, *The Vixen turned Maiden*, which at collection alone possesses, though we know was one current in antiquity (see *infra*, pp. 28, 7). As it is of great interest historically, we ay apply the inverse method to it, and restore at least this one fable to its legitimate owner, Phædrus. It runs thus in the prose form (as given by Oesterley, *Romulus*, App. 1)—

* I take these examples from Riese's admirable four-penny Tauchnitz *Phædrus*, 1885.

VULPIS IN HOMINE (*sic*) VERSA.

Naturam turpem nulla fortuna obtegit · Humanam speciem cum uertisset iupiter uulpem · legitimis ut sedit in thoris · scarabeum uidit prorepentem ex angulo notamque ad prædam celeri prosiluit gradu · Superi risere · magnus erubuit pater · uulpemque repudiatam thalamis expulit · his prosequutus : uiu quo digna es modo · quia digna nostris meritis n potes esse.

By merely writing this in verse form we c with Burmann and Riese, restore every w of the original but two.

VVLPES IN·HOMINEM VERSA.

Naturam turpem nulla fortuna obtegit.
humanam *in* speciem cum vertisset Iuppiter
vulpem legitimis ut [con]sedit in toris
scarabaeum vidit prorepentem ex angulo,
notamque ad prædam celeri prosiluit gradu.
superi risere, magnus erubuit pater,
vulpemque repudiatam thalamis expulit,
his prosecutus : 'vive quo digna es modo
quia digna nostris meritis esse non potes.'

The Phædrine *cachet* of these lines is unmistakable, and the whole inquiry largely increases the presumption that the remaining prose versions retain for us the subject-matter at least of the lost fables of Phædrus, of which metrical

versions must have been in the hands of the prosaists. The canine character of their Latinity is sufficient to acquit them of any originality.

In some cases metrical versions actually exist and, what is more, are found associated with the name of Phædrus. In one MS. of Phædrus, of which only a transcript is now extant, made by Perotti and published by Jannelli in 1811, no less than thirty-two additional fables are contained, among them *The Ape and Fox* (Ro. III. xvii.), *Juno Venus and Hen* (Ro. III. viii., about which Caxton was so sensitive, rather unnecessarily, it would seem), *The Ephesian Widow* (perhaps the most popular of all stories, see the Parallels, Ro. III. xiii.) and *The Sheep and Crow* (Ro. IV. xix.). Nor is this all. Attached to the editions of Phædrus by Burmann and Dressler there are other versified fables found in MSS. of the poet. Altogether in one or other of these *Appendices* (Jannelli, of Burmann, or of Dressler*), every one of the fables in "Romulus" can be traced to Phædrine metrical versions, as can be seen

* A convenient edition including all three is just now a great want and would form an admirable schoolbook. Such a book might even be made a worthy pendant to Postgate's *Babrius*, and Ellis' *Avian*.

from our Synopsis of Parallels. Indeed, the whole ninety-six fables which are "prosed" in the three forms of "Romulus" can be so traced.* Whether the additional fables found in the Perotti MS. of Phædrus are really by that author or no, is another and more delicate question. France and Germany here take opposite sides. MM. Hervieux and Paris have no doubts on the subject, Drs. L. Müller (in his edition of Phædrus, 1876) and E. Heydenreich (in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* for 1884, Bd. xxxix.), are not by any means so sure. Phædrus was such a favourite schoolbook among the Romans, and formed so frequent a subject of rhetorical amplification and imitation that it seems not unlikely that some of the fables contained in the *Appendix* were products of Silver Latinity, and do not come down to us from Phædrus himself. But, be this as it may, there can be little doubt that all the fables came down to the Middle Ages in the

* M. Gaston Paris allows for only fifty-seven prose versions to be found in Phædrus and the *Appendix* of Jannelli. He rejects the additions of Burmann and Dressler. Mr. Rutherford also leaves them and the prose versions out of account in his *Babrius*, pp. c.–ciii., where they would have afforded him another dozen parallels.

name of Phædrus, and were all equally regarded as productions of that poet. We have accordingly traced the first four books of Caxton's collection to their immediate source. So far, good.*

II.—ÆSOP IN ANTIQUITY.

mans aber dem Esopo zuschreibet, ist meins achtens, n Gedicht, vnd vieleicht nie kein Mensch auff Erden, sopus geheissen.—M. LUTHER, *Etliche Fabeln aus Esopo*, Thiele, p. 1.

nowadays we are not content with imme- sources; we seek for the *Ur-ur*-origins of . Beginnings are the chief things that st us,† and on the present occasion we carcely avoid the question: Whence did rus and the other fabulists of the Roman get their fables? Generally speaking literature is but one vast plagiarism the Greek, often bettered in the stealing ubt and so justified, but still a plagiar- In any department it may be assumed

he derivates of Ademar and Romulus might have treated here, but I have reserved them for the sec- "Æsop in England."

And endings or "survivals," the school of Tylor and nnan will add.

almost as a matter of course that the model is to be sought for in Greece. That this is the case with the Latin Fable is acknowledged by its two great masters, Phædrus and Avian, in their Prefaces. For besides Phædrus there is another collection of Latin metrical fables attributed to a certain Avianus, has been identified out of a number of obscurities of the same name with a young man named Avienus mentioned in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and the date of his 42 *Fabulæ* fixed between 370 and 379 A.D.* These were equally popular with Phædrus in the Middle Ages and "prosed" like the older fabulists. But they never lost their identity, and Stainhöwel made his collection from the two fabulists he kept the majority of Avian together and gave them their proper affiliation. We accordingly find them under the title "The Fables of Auian" in our Caxton. Here then is another of the sections of our book which we can trace to its immediate source.

* This is Mr. Robinson Ellis' identification and date in the edition which he has made of Avian in his usual exhaustive fashion. Against the date is the fact that Avienus called a young man in the *Saturnalia* at least thirty years later.

history is so straightforward that it ceases
resting, and we may turn with the
st to the more puzzling question:
d Phædrus and Avian get their
What was their Greek source, for
n own their indebtedness to Greece,*
to Æsop?

first sight there seems to be no
There have been published no less
ven collections of Greek fables, all
y the name of Æsop, and each adding
less to the *Corpus Fabularum Æsopi*.
This in Halm's convenient edition
26 fables, among which most of those
drus and Avian find parallels, as can be
our Synopsis. Here then we seem at
have arrived at the Father of the Fable
ria personæ, and these collections have

drus was himself a Greek by birth. He ought to
ted deeply of the Pierian spring, for he was born
de. He became a slave early, and was freed by
us.
ursius (1476) had 147; to these Stephanus (1546)
20. Nevelet (1610) 148, Heusinger (1741) 6, Furia
3, Coraes (1810) 77, and Schneider (1812) 2. (From
de, *Æsopische Fabeln nach einer Wiener HS.*
The latest collections by Fedde and Knoell (both
ery in treatment, not in subject, from the earlier

been indeed generally taken for the real Æ
But the slightest critical inquiry brin
the most serious doubts as to the au
these collections. The keen glance
was diverted for a moment to these
Æsop, and they shrunk away before
terial gaze as convicted impostors.*
collections published before his time
nected with the name of Planudes (1
the additional collection of Neveletus
he pointed out that the former used Ho
and Middle Greek words, while the
though bearing signs of being the ear
lection of the two, quotes Job i 21, "
came we from our mother's womb," &c.
collections, too, bore traces of having m
of a writer named Babrius or Gabrias.
his date was settled no conclusion co
drawn about the Greek prose Æsop excep
they could not come from the time or h
Æsop. Meanwhile Bentley's object had
attained, and Sir William Temple had
another skirmish in the Battle of the B

* Bentley's excursus on Æsop's Fables was conta
a few pages appended to his great Dissertati
Phalaris, to which Professor Jebb has scarcely done
in his otherwise admirable monograph.

through his bad tactics in referring to these fables with respect and as Æsop's.

Henceforth the search was after this Babrius on whom the whole question had been shown by Bentley to hinge. The great critic himself had recovered a few Babrian lines from Suidas and the prose versions, and with the scholar's prophetic instinct had declared for his late date.* Tyrwhitt followed Bentley's lead in his *Dissertatio de Babrio* (1776), and rescued a few more fragments, and there the matter rested so far as the eighteenth century was concerned. With the opening years of the nineteenth fresh activity was shown in the search after the Greek Æsop. Within four years (1809–12) no less than four editions appeared.† But none of the new collections afforded additional light on the question of origin: each and all, old and new, had hidden

* It is some encouragement for us smaller fry to find the great scholar in the wrong in attributing the Life of Æsop to Planudes, whereas it existed in MSS. before the date of the Byzantine. He had also no suspicion that Babrius was a Roman.

† That by Furia, the Leipsic reprint of Furia (with the addition of Fabricius, Bentley, Tyrwhitt, and Huschke which makes it still the most convenient collection), Coraes' most complete collection, and Schneider's.

their spoor from the critical hunter by the simple but effectual plan of alphabetic arrangement which baffled all tracking to their source. Nor did any of the new lights cast their illumination upon the great unknown, Babrius, though Furia's collections contained fifteen of his fables. At last in 1840 Minoides Menas, a Greek commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction to search among the monasteries of his native land, found a MS. containing 123 Babrian fables in the Convent of St. Laura on Mount Athos, and brought a transcript to Paris where it was published in 1844. Rarely has such a discovery been so eagerly welcomed;* no less than eight complete editions appeared within a year of the *princeps*.

But the emergence of the sun of the Æsopic system from the clouds that had so long obscured him, served rather to dazzle than to illuminate. On the important question of his date opinions oscillated between 250 B.C. to 250 A.D. He was declared an Athenian, a Syrian,

* The only parallel I can think of is the eagerness with which edition after edition of the *Teaching of the XII. Apostles* was edited soon after its first production. And there the interest was theological as well as scholarly.

an Alexandrine, even an Assyrian. It was not till 1879 that the question of Babrius' age and identity was settled by Otto Crusius in a most thorough and convincing essay "De Babrii ætate."* He comes to the somewhat startling conclusion that the Greek Fables of Babrius were by a Roman.† By a remarkable exercise of critical sagacity, the Babrian scazon is shown to be influenced by Latin metre, and to be an attempt, a very successful attempt, to utilise accent in Greek verse. Some of the fables are shown to be derived from Latin models, the eleventh, *e.g.*, being drawn from Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 700). Roman customs are implied in others; it was a Roman, but not a Greek custom, to put figures of animals on sepulchral monuments as is implied in the Fable of *The Lion and the Man*.‡ The name Babrius is a not unfrequent gentile name

* *Leipziger Studien*, Bnd. ii. pp. 123–244. In what follows I have ventured to disregard the "fortasse" which the modesty and caution of a great scholar have attached to each of Crusius' discoveries.

† Boissonade, the first editor, also held this view, basing it on the name.

‡ Not extant in our Babrius, but represented by the first of the tetrastichs of Gabrias or Ignatius, which were entirely derived from the complete Babrius (*cf.* Ro. IV. xv.).

among the Romans, and is etymologically connected with *barba*. Finally, it is rendered probable that Babrius was one Valerius Babrius, and composed his fables in his quality of tutor to Branchus, the young son of the Emperor Alexander Severus (A.D. 235).† As Suidas states that Babrius' fables were originally in ten books, Crusius conjectures that they merely put into verse—for the first time in Greek letters, Babrius boasts—the Δεκαμυθία of Nicostratus, a rhetor of the "greedy Greekling" type who was about Marcus Aurelius' court.

Babrius' age and identity being established, it still remained to determine the extent of his collection. For the Athoan Codex discovered by Menas is only a fragment: the fables are arranged alphabetically and break off in the middle of O, and it is by no means certain that it is complete from Alpha to Omikron. With our fuller knowledge of the laws of the Babrian scazon, it might seem possible to recover from the prose versions the missing fables. Two German scholars, Drs. Knoell

†He must have been very young, as Severus was killed at the age of 27.

and Gitlbauer, have tried to complete the task initiated by Bentley and carried on by Tyrwhit last century under much more adverse circumstances. I have Mr. Rutherford's authority * for stating that they have disastrously failed in their application of the inverse method: Gitlbauer, who sums up their labours, has restored to us, not Babrius, but only Gitlbauer's Babrius, quite a different thing. But for our immediate purpose the accuracy of the text he has established is of little consequence compared with the determination of the number and subjects of the missing Babrian fables. The Babrian scazon has such a unique appearance in Greek prosody that there can be little difficulty in tracing "survivals" of it, and we may fairly assume, I think, that Gitlbauer's reconstruction gives us the minimum number of fables in the original Babrius.† This he extends to no less

* *Babrius*, pp. lxviii. and lxxvii. I take this opportunity of saying that I have not been able to quote Mr. Rutherford hitherto, because on the Babrian questions with which we have been concerned he has only entered upon the labours of Crusius, as he himself handsomely acknowledges. I hope, however, that his second volume will give a definite settlement to the questions I am here touching with amateur hand.

† At the same time it is unlikely that Babrius made two

than 293. Besides these, we may be able to add a few more from a collection of fifty-three fables in tetrastichs curtailed from Babrius by Ignatius, Archbishop of Nicæa (780–850), and passing current under the name of Gabrias.* Altogether we are justified, I think, in assuming that some three hundred fables of the Greek prose Æsop owe their origin to Babrius.

We are now in a position to dispose of the Greek prose fables which have for so long usurped the title of Æsop and are referred to even to this day as, primary evidence for the existence of the special fables in ancient Greece. Three hundred — three-quarters of them, we have seen — can only trace back to Babrius in the third century, A.D., or at most to the rhetor Nicostratus in the second. Of the remaining hundred,† some are variants

or even three bites at the Æsopic cherry, as Gitlbauer assumes in giving us three versions of the same subject, *e.g.*, his 175, 216, 273.

* A useful edition of them has recently been published in *Programm* form by C. F. Müller, *Ignatii Diaconi tetrasticha iambica iii* (Kiliæ, 1886). I quote this as "Gab." in the Parallels, under II (Classical Antiquity), where no Babrian parallel exists, under III (Middle Ages), where the original is extant.

† The few over the hundred are due to Coraes, who

of the Babrian ones which are not above the capacity of mediæval monks to execute, some are derived from the Oriental sources, Bidpai, Syntipas, &c., of which we are shortly about to speak, and some, it is even possible, are versions of the Romulus. We may accordingly sweep them from our path in our journey to the sources of our fables. But before doing so, it should be pointed out that one section of Caxton's Æsop can be directly traced to them. Before any of them had appeared in Greek, an Italian scholar, Ranutio d' Arezzo, translated 100 of them into Latin from a MS. and published them in 1476. His name was Latinised as Renutius, but as there is no distinction in mediæval script between *nut* and *mic*, his collection is known by the name of Remicius,* and in that form was excerpted by Stainhöwel when he made his selection from the Latin fables extant in his time, and so got into our Caxton. It is some confirmation of the conclusion at which we have arrived with regard to the origin of the Greek

unwisely inserted the genuine remains of ancient Greek Fable in the prose collections. For these see *infra*, p. 26.

* Lessing, one of the earliest and best of *Æsop-forscher*, was the first to point this out (*Werke*, ed. 1874, IX. p. 39 *seq.*).

prose fables that I have been able to trace all but one of these to Babrius, either in the vulgate or in Gitlbauer's edition.

Putting Babrius and the prose versions aside once for all, we find ourselves but poorly provided with material when at last we step on to Greek soil and look around us for Æsop's fables in the fatherland of Æsop. Here is a complete list of the Fables given in Greek literature up to the fall of Greek independence —the only time that counts for aught, as regards literary originality. They amount to EIGHT*—Hesiod's *The Nightingale* (*Op. et Dies*, 202 seq.)—the oldest fable in existence †—*The Fox and Ape* and *Eagle and Fox* (*cf.* Ro. I. xiii.) of Archilochus, *The Piper turned Fisherman* of Herodotus (i. 141, *cf.* Re. vii.) *Th[illegible]le hoist with his own Petard* (to use a telesc[illegible]itle) of Æschylus in a fragment of his lost *[illegible]midons* (ap. Schol. on Aristoph. *Aves* 808), *[illegible]p and*

* I omit Plato's *Grasshoppers* (*Phæd.* 259), as c[illegible]arly not a folk-fable, but concocted *ad hoc*. Similarly I [illegible]mit the reference to *The Fox and Lion* fable in the pseudepigraphic *Alcibiades*, though it is probably early.

† Jotham's fable (*Jud.* ix. 8-15) was probably redacted later. At the same time the verses come in very disconnectedly in Hesiod. See also *infra*, p. 82.

Dog by Xenophon (*Mem.* II. vii. 13) and two fables given by Aristotle in the chapter of his *Rhetoric*, (II. xx.) which deals with the use of Example in oratory. One is *The Horse, Hunter, and Stag* (*cf.* Ro. IV. ix.) attributed to Stesichorus, the other *The Fox, Hedgehog, and Dog-Ticks* attributed to Æsop. As the latter is the earliest extant fable attributed to the Father of the Fable, and that on so respectable an authority as Aristotle's, we may here give it in Mr. Welldon's excellent version.

Æsop again at Samos, as counsel for a demagogue who was being tried for a capital offence, said that a fox, in crossing a river, was swept down into a cleft of a rock, and being unable to get out, was for a long time in a sorry plight, and a number of dog-ticks fastened on her body. A hedgehog, strolling by, happened to catch sight of her, and was moved by compassionate feeling to inquire if he should remove the dog-ticks from her. The fox, however, would not allow him to do so, and being asked the reason, replied, "Because these have already taken their fill of me, and do not now suck much blood; but if you take these away, other will come, and in their hunger will drain up all the blood that is left." "Yes, and in your case, men of Samos," said Æsop, "my client will not do much further mischief; he has already made his fortune; but, if you put him to death, then will come others who are poor, and who will consume

all the revenues of the State by their embezzlements."

We may complete* the *Corpus* of ancient Greek fables, the subjects of which can be identified and the date approximately fixed by adding a dozen other fables merely referred to—*The Heron and Eel* by Simonides Amorginus (*ap.* Athen. vii. 299 C.); *The Ass' Heart*, by Solon (*cf.* Diog. Laert. i. 51, Babr. 95); *The Serpent and Eagle*, by Stesichorus (*ap.* Ælian xvii. 37); *The Serpent and Ass* by Ibycus (Schneidewin, *Poet. græc*, 176); *The Fox* (with many wiles) *and Hedgehog* (with one) by Ion (*ap.* Leutsch. *Parœm. græci*, I. 47; *cf.* Ex. V. v.); *The Countryman and Snake* by Theognis (579 *cf.* Ro. I. x.); *The Transformed Weasel* by the dramatist Strattis, c. 400 (Meineke *Frag. com.* 441); *The Serpent and Crab* attributed to Alcæus (*ap.* Furia, note on *f.* 231); *The Dog and Shadow* by Democritus (*ap.* Stob. x. 69; *cf.* Ro. I. v.); *The North Wind and Sun* by Sophocles (*ap.* Athen. xiii. 604 D); *The Hare and Hound* (*Vesp.* 375, *Ran.* 1191), and per-

* Strange to say, this is the first time such a list having any claims to completeness has been drawn up. I have compiled it from Coraes, Wagener, and Mr. Rutherford.

haps *The Two Crabs* by Aristophanes (*Pax.* 1083 *cf.* Av. iii.); and perhaps *The Ass in Lion's Skin* by Plato (*Cratyl.* 411 A.; *cf.* Av. iv.).* When we come to the Greek authors of the Roman Imperial period—*e.g.* Plutarch and Lucian—we might add another dozen or so references,† but even Plutarch is later than Phædrus, and the others are later than Babrius' original, Nicostratus. There is only one way to explain the paucity of reference in Greek literature to the Beast-Fable. This only makes casual appearance in written literature, because it formed part of the folk-literature with which every Greek was familiar with from his youth.‡ Similarly we might search English literature in vain for even a reference to *Jack and the Bean Stalk*, or *The Little Old Woman who led a Pig from Market.* The Beast-Fable, as the Western world knows it, is directly traceable to Greek folk-lore.

* Wagener adds Simonides' celebrated satire on woman, scarcely a fable. Mr. Rutherford gives references from Archilochus corresponding to certain of Babrius' Fables—*Fox and Crow* (77 *cf.* Ro. I. xv.), *Fox and Wolf* (130), *Cat and Parrot* (135)—but these are uncertain.

† See Parallels Ro. II. v.; III. i., iii., xiii., xvi.; IV. xiii., xv.; V. xi.; Av. xx., and *cf.* Furia, 384-405.

‡ Archilochus refers to one of his as αἶνος ἀνθρώπων.

Here comes in the puzzle of the whole investigation. The allusive character of the majority of the references in Greek literature to the Beast-Fable shows that the individual fables are not told at length by the Greek writers, for the simple reason that they were already familiar to the audience they were addressing. In other words, the Greek Beast-Fable bears the characteristic mark of folk-lore—anonymity. And yet from a certain time it is found connected with the name of a definite personality, that of Æsop. I say "from a certain time," for of the thirty or so fables enumerated above only the latest of the eight fables is connected with the name of Æsop. Previous to this, however, Socrates had tried to put in verse some of the Fables of Æsop that he remembered (*Phædo*, 61 A). Besides, in Aristophanes especially we find references to Αἰσώπου γελοῖα, which show that the Attic comedians assumed that Athenian audiences connected the Beast-Fable with the name of Æsop. Such a conjunction is unique, so far as I am aware. No other department of folk-lore—folk-tales, spells, proverbs, weather-lore, or riddles—is connected with a definite name

of a putative author.* The only key to the mirth-producing qualities which the Greeks and Romans associated with the Beast-Fable and with the name of Æsop. Aristophanes refers to the fables as γελοῖα, almost the sole mention of Phædrus in Latin literature is Martial's "improbi *iocos* Phædri" (iii. xx. 5),† and Avianus speaks of Æsop's fables as *ridicula* in his Preface. We may find a modern instance of this tendency to see the risible in Æsop in George Eliot's youthful experience. In her *Life* (i. 20) it is recorded "how she laughed till the tears ran down her face in recalling her infantile enjoyment of the humour in the fable of Mercury and the Statue Seller." To the child's mind of George Eliot and to the child-like minds of the Greeks it was the humorous properties of the Æsopic fable that was the chief attraction.

Now it is with special reference to the Jest

* There is perhaps a tendency to refer to a familiar folk-tale as "one of Grimm's Goblins," but that is late, and conveys no real intimation of authorship.

† Phædrus refers to his own fables as *iocos* (III. Prol. 37), and gives as one of the claims of the fable 'quod risum movet' (Prol. Lib. I.).

that we find a popular tendency to connect the name of a definite personal origin. From the days of Hierocles to those of Mr. Punch it has been usual to connect the floating Jest with representative names. Among these may be mentioned Pasquil, Poggio, whom we shall meet later, and Joe Miller,* and in later days there has been a tendency for jests to crystallise round the names of Talleyrand and Sydney Smith. In Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's three volumes of Elizabethan Jest-books the majority of the collections are connected with some definite personality—real, as Skelton, Scoggin, Tarleton, Peele, Taylor, Old Hobson (Milton's friend), or imaginary, as Jack of Dover and the Widow Edyth. The secret of all this is probably that the simple mind likes to be informed beforehand that it is expected to laugh at what is coming—the notice is indeed often necessary—and the readiest means of doing this is to connect the anecdote with some well-known name, in itself associated with past guffaws. It is probable, I think, that the name of Æsop is to

* This name comes from Mottley's *Joe Miller's Jests*, temp. Jac. II. There is no evidence that the actor Joseph Miller was a wit.

be added to the above list of professional jesters, that to the later Greeks Æsop was in short a kind of Joe Miller.*

How early Æsop's name was indissolubly connected with the Greek Beast-Fable in a collected form is shown by a fact to which in my opinion not enough significance has hitherto been attached. One of the most interesting figures in the post-Alexandrine history of Athens is Demetrius of Phaleron (one of the Attic demes).† Born about 345 B.C., and educated with Menander under Theophrastus, he became the leading Attic orator of his day, and became so influential that on the death of Phocion, 317 B.C., he was placed by Cassander at the head of affairs at Athens. Here he "tyrannised" in an easy-going way for ten years, when he was ousted from his office and

* Curiously enough, the passage from George Eliot's *Life* just quoted is immediately followed by one in which *Joe Miller's Jest Book* is mentioned as one of the earliest books read by the creator of Mrs. Poyser.

† On him, see Grote, xii. 184, 195, 200; Dr. Schmitz in Smith *Dict. Class. Biog.*; and Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. 441. Dohrn wrote a monograph on him, 1825; and another and more complete account was given by MM. Legrand and Tychon in the *Mémoires* of the Brussels Academy, t. xxiv. For our knowledge of his literary productions we are indebted to Diogenes Laertius, V. v.

fled to Alexandria. There he turned from action to thought, and for twenty years (307–283 B.C.) produced book after book, and what was more, collected book after book, and thus formed the nucleus of what was afterwards the world-famous library of Alexandria. But he chiefly interests us here as a kind of Grecian Grimm. It is to him that we owe the collection of sayings of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. He was the first to collect Greek proverbs, doubtless from the mouths of the people, and it was probably from the same source that he compiled the λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί, which Diogenes Laertius includes among his works (v. 80). This is the earliest collection of Greek Beast-Fables of which we have any trace, and they are thus from the first connected with the name of Æsop.

Now it is a remarkable coincidence, which previous investigators have carelessly overlooked,* that Phædrus includes among his

* I have been struck throughout my investigations into this part of the subject at the apathy of classical scholars about points of literary history as compared with their zeal for textual and verbal criticism. One feels inclined to ask if textual criticism is the be-all and end-all of classical scholarship.

Fables (v. 1) a somewhat pointless anecdote about Menander and this very Demetrius Phalereus. One cannot help asking what he is doing *dans cette galère*. And the only answer must be that Phædrus had before him some edition of Demetrius' συναγωγαί, to which some later editor had added various anecdotes of the compiler. The fact is significant in many ways; if an editor added anecdotes he may have added further fables, and we shall see later on the special opportunities afforded by Alexandria for this purpose. But be this as it may, the inclusion of the fable in Phædrus' collection renders it almost certain that Phædrus' Fables —and they form, as we have seen, the bulk of our Æsop—are derived from an enlarged edition of *The Assemblies of Æsopian Fables*, compiled by Demetrius Phalereus, c. 300 B.C.

This completes the close parallel which the reader must already have observed between the two great masters of ancient fable—Phædrus and Babrius. The one was a Greek writing in Latin, the other a Roman writing in Greek, verse. The works of neither have come down to us complete in metrical form; in the case of both, prose versions have usurped the place of

the original. These prose versions preserve here and there a line of the original in both cases, but do not enable us to recover it *in toto*. Each of these prose versions in collected form has passed current under the name of Æsop, and both have contributed to the body of folk-tales familiar to us as Æsop's Fables.

And now we find that as Babrius probably only put into Greek verse a collection of Greek prose fables made by Nicostratus, so Phædrus merely translated into Latin verse the earlier Greek prose collection of Demetrius Phalereus. May we go a step further and connect these two Greek prose collections of Beast-Fables? Nicostratus is scarcely likely to have remained ignorant of Demetrius' collection, and must have used a later and fuller edition than Phædrus did. If this be so, we can trace both Phædrus and Babrius to the one source, and as they constitute our Æsop, we may round off the literary history of our fables by stating that the Fables of Æsop, as literary products, are the fables of Demetrius Phalereus. To the question, "Who wrote Æsop?" if there is to be only one reply; we must answer, "Demetrius Phalereus."

This result considerably reduces Æsop's importance as regards any light he can throw on the *Ur*-origin of the Fables with which his name will always be connected. Yet it is decidedly appropriate to include all that can be ascertained concerning the putative Father of the Fable, especially as this may account for the original association of his name with it. Unluckily this is very scanty, so scanty indeed that Welcker has written an ingenious essay to the effect that Æsop is himself a Fable (*Kl. Schr.* II. 229, *seq.*) And as a matter of fact the only trustworthy notice of him in Greek literature is one contained in a passage in Herodotus (ii. 134). That good gossip is discussing the tradition that one of the Pyramids had been built out of the professional fees of Rhodopis, a renowned Hetaira. How could this be, asks Herodotus, since Rhodopis lived in the reign of Amasis? (fl. 550 B.C.); and he continues:—

She was a Thracian by birth, and was the slave of Iadmon, son of Hephæstopolis, a Samian. Æsop, the fable writer,* was one of her fellow-slaves. That

* In the original, λογοποιός, "story teller." It is by no means certain that Herodotus used it in the more special sense.

Æsop belonged to Iadmon is proved by many facts—among others, by this: When the Delphians, in obedience to the commands of the oracle, made proclamation that if anyone claimed compensation for the murder of Æsop, he should receive it, the person who at last came forward was Iadmon, grandson of the former Iadmon, and he received the compensation. Æsop must certainly therefore have been the earlier Iadmon's slave.

This passage contains all the authentic information we have of the reputed Father of the Fable. That he flourished about 550 B.C., was a slave in Samos, and was killed, probably by a decree of the Delphic oracle, and that compensation (*wergild*) was claimed for his death by the grandson of his master—this is the scanty but probably accurate, biography of Æsop. Probably accurate because Herodotus is reporting on events that only happened a hundred years before his time. Of these facts I am inclined to lay most stress on the circumstance of Æsop's death. His was the epoch of the Tyrants, and I would conjecture that his connection with the Beast-Fable originally consisted in its application to political controversy under despotic government, and that his fate was due to the influence of one of the Tyrants with the

Delphic authorities, who were doubtless not above being influenced by powerful clients.* We shall see later on that the Fable is most effective as a literary or oratorical weapon under despotic governments allowing no free speech. A Tyrant cannot take notice of a Fable without putting on the cap that fits. Much of our ancient evidence points this way. Jotham's fable (Jud. ix. 8–15) was directed against Abimelech, the Israelite τύραννος. In our list of genuinely ancient Greek Fables, one is connected with the name of Theognis who was ruined by a Tyrant, Solon made use of his for political purposes, and Archilochus was Satire personified. The only extant Fable that can be attributed to Æsop with any plausibility (*supra*, p. 27) was used by him for political purposes. Our evidence is of course scanty, but it all points one way. Æsop could not have been the inventor or introducer of the Beast-Fable into Greece, as we find it

* Plutarch's story of Æsop having done them out of their fees sent by him from Croesus is a weak (and late) invention of the enemy. For it see Rawlinson's note *ad loc.* It contains, however, an interesting variant of Joseph's plan for detaining Benjamin (Gen. xliv. 2). Other classical parallels are given by Wagener (p. 16).

there before him. The only way therefore we can explain the later identification of his name with it is to suppose some special and striking use of the *fabellæ aniles* familiar to all Greek children. Considering the age he lived in and the death he died the conjecture I have put forth that Æsop's name was associated with the Fable, because he made use of it as a political weapon, is the only hypothesis that will fit in with all the facts of the case.* Æsop was not the Father of the Fable, but only the inventor (or most conspicuous applier) of a new use for it, and when the need for that use no longer existed under outspoken democracies, his connection with the Fable was still kept up as a convenient and conventional figurehead round which to gather a specialised form of the Greek Jest.

This result considerably reduces the importance of the other fact we know of him from Herodotus on which previous inquirers have laid exclusive stress. Æsop was a slave, and

* There are two points to meet: (1) why was the Fable, a part of Folk-lore, associated with a name at all? I answer, because it was regarded as a jest, and there is a general tendency for Jests to cluster round a name; (2), why with Æsop's name? my reply is, that he first applied it to convince men, instead of merely amusing children as heretofore.

therefore a barbarian. As a stranger, may he not have introduced from some foreign country the fables with which his name is associated? Accordingly all those who have hitherto argued for a foreign origin of the Greek Fable have made Æsop a native of the particular land whence they wish to trace it, and they are to some extent supported in their conjecture by the fact that Αἴσωπος is an un-Greek form. Dr. Landsberger (*Die Fabeln des Sophos*, 1859), who on the strength of Jotham's fable and Talmudic reference would make Judæa the original home of the Fable, makes Æsop a Syrian, and connects his name with the same root as that of Joseph.* Herr Zündel (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1847), who advocates the claims of Egypt, brings our hero from the banks of the Nile. D'Herbelot, who is for identifying him with the Arabic Loqman, is for Arabia as Æsop's fatherland (*Bibl. Orient.*, s. v. *Esope*). Finally, it is fair to add that Mr. Rutherford (*Babrius*, 1882, p. xxxvi.), who is staunch for the autochthonous

* This is not so wild as Hitzig's suggestion that Solomon was acquainted with our Fables, because it is said—"And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree in Lebanon even unto the *hyssop* that springeth out of the wall" (1 Kings iv. 33).

character of the Æsopean fable, does not see why he may not have been "one of that large class of Greeks whom the fortune of war expatriated and forced to serve men of the same race and language with themselves." All these conjectures are nugatory if, as we have seen, the Fable can be traced before Æsop as a part of Greek folk-lore, and a plausible reason can be given for the connection of his name with it.

But though the possibility of Æsop having formed a link between Greece and some foreign country has lost its interest, if the above view of the Greek fable is correct, it does not follow that the question of its foreign origin is entirely a nugatory one. Folk-lores of various countries may influence one another, and it is still worth while inquiring whether this is the case with that particular branch of Greek folk-lore which we know as Æsop's Fables. Of all the suggestions that have been made to this effect, only one deserves serious consideration. The Talmudic fables adduced by Dr. Landsberger are too late, Egyptian fables are practically non-existent (see *infra*, pp. 82, 91), and the four Assyrian ones extant (Smith, *Chald. Gen.* c. ix.) have no similarity with the Greek ones that suggest bor-

rowing on either side. But a number of such resemblances have been shown to exist between Indian and Greek fables, rendering it advisable to consider their connection. This course will be found in the end to give some explanation of the sole remaining section of our Caxton, which has not yet been traced by us to its immediate source. For during the course of our inquiry into the Greek Fable in the present section we have traced the seventh division of our book to Avian, and the sixth practically to Babrius. For the remaining section—*Liber Quintus* Caxton calls it, *Fabulæ extravagantes* is Stainhöwel's name—our best course, though a somewhat roundabout one, is to turn to the East and discuss—

III.—THE ORIENTAL ÆSOP.

And the Master told a tale.
—*Jatákas passim.*

Before launching out on the Indian Ocean of Fable, it is as well that we should know the port from which we start and the quarter to which we are steering. If the reader will glance at the Synopsis of Parallelisms at the end of these remarks, he will find variants given

under Section I. (*the Orient*) for some seventy of the Fables, a sort of Oriental Septuagint, as we may call them. That is the *datum* of our inquiry, and the obvious question to ask is, How did this resemblance come about? Here we meet with one of those general questions which the folk-lorist meets at every turn, and it is with this problem that he is at present chiefly engaged. To this question, stated in its broadest generality, there are four answers before the world. Such resemblances between the folk-lores of the Aryan peoples are due to memories of the time when all were one people with a common fund of popular tradition, said the brothers Grimm. They are due to the tendency of the human mind to take metaphor for reality, and thus change figures of speech into explanatory tales, was the reply formulated by Kuhn and made popular by the persuasive skill of Max Müller. Then came Benfey with a solution simple and natural in itself but requiring all his vast erudition to demonstrate it; folk-tales of different nations resemble one another, said he, for the simple reason that they borrowed from one another. Lastly, in recent years, Messrs. Tylor and Lang have

rendered it probable that many of the resemblances noted are due to the identity of the human mind at similar stages of culture: the tales are similar because the minds producing them were alike.

Restricting ourselves to the Beast-Fable, it will be found that these four solutions practically reduce themselves to one. Grimm's contention for a common Aryan Beast-Epic explaining Reynard the Fox has been ruled out of court with costs against it. The view that could reduce all mythology and folk-lore to a department of folk-etymology is generally discredited nowadays and was never seriously applied to the Beast-Fable.* And there is a special reason why the views of Messrs. Tylor and Lang, ingenious and convincing in other departments of folk-lore, fail in regard to the special inquiry before us. We can understand how two peoples may hit upon the same *ruse* by which a wife deceives her husband or a slave his master. But we cannot well conceive two nations hitting upon the same *form* of the Apologue in the guise of the Beast-Tale, though

* De Gubernatis' bizarre attempt in his *Zoological Mythology* (1872) was its *reductio ad absurdissimum*.

the tendency to use the Beast-Tale for that purpose and the origin of the Beast-Tale itself as a "survival" of Animism * may be explained on their hypothesis. To put a concrete example: if we find two peoples, who have been previously in contact, each making use of so artificial a fable as *The Fox and Stork*, we cannot assume that the human mind has been normally at work in the two cases producing independently such an abnormal picture as a stork and a fox on visiting terms, provided with an elaborate dinner service, and hitting upon such unnatural forms of tantalisation. If therefore the parallelism in such cases is complete—all depends on this—we have no alternative but to resort to Benfey's hypothesis, and, in the special case before us, for the most part to Benfey's own collection of such parallels in his magnificent *Einleitung* to the German translation of the *Pantschatantra*.†

* On this see Mr. Lang's admirable introduction to Mrs. Hunt's *Grimm*. I have discussed the general question of the origin of the Beast-Fable in my *Bidpai*, pp. xxxix.-xlix.

†An English adaptation of this, putting results in a more collected form, and with the addenda and corrigenda of the last thirty years, is a great want just now. I may attempt the task myself one of these days.

For when it comes to a question of borrowing, the question of relative age comes in also. Borrowing is after all a mutual relation, and in matters like the present we can only determine to whom the debt is due by ascertaining who was first in possession of the property. When Greek meets Indian, Indian meets Greek, and the question arises which had the goods to dispose of. Hence the all-importance of dates in an inquiry of this kind, as in most literary and historical investigations. On the Greek side we are at length in a position to fix at anyrate the first appearance in extant *literature* of nearly the whole body of Fables current in the Greco-Roman world. Confining ourselves to the Caxton-Stainhowel—and with a few exceptions * this gives us all we need to arrive at a decision—we have seen that the first four books date from Phædrus *temp.* Tiberii in the first third of the first century A.D., the sixth traces to Babrius in the third, or at most to Nicostratus in the second century, and the seventh to Avian in the latter part of fourth century, while the fifth, we

* I have only considered parallels not in our Caxton when the evidence is very strong indeed.

shall see, is late, and does not come in the reckoning on the present occasion. We have indeed given strong grounds for suspecting that the bulk of these are ultimately derived from the collection made by Demetrius Phalereus about 300 B.C. But the very evidence on which we relied showed that his collection was interpolated later, and we cannot therefore be sure about any particular fable that it is much earlier than the collection in which we first find it. As regards the earliest Greek fables we have enumerated the score or so that can be traced in Greek antiquity on pp. 26–8, and on these must rest the mainstay of our argument.

How does it stand with the Indian evidence that we are to compare with the Greek? Without troubling the reader with the scaffolding I have had to erect and remove before arriving at the following results,* I may divide the seventy Oriental parallels in our Synopsis into five categories. We may first dismiss those occurring in the Arabic Loqman or the Syriac

* I have found Benfey's *Einleitung* very awkward to manage. It has no index, no comparative tables, no detailed summary of results, and simply to understand many of his points one has often to look up his references.

Sophos,* which, as we shall see later, are themselves derived from, or influenced by the Greek. Then comes a miscellaneous collection † of parallels from the Persian Mesnevi, the Turkish *Tutinameh*, the African parallels occurring in *African Native Literature*, by Kölle, and the modern Indian ones given by Mr. Ramaswami Raju (*Indian Fables*, Sonnenschein, n. d.) and Captain Temple (*Wideawake Stories*, 1884).‡ Now of these the Persian and Turkish date late on in the Middle Ages, and the African Tales may be due to European as well as Indo-Arabic influences. With the modern Indian parallels the case is somewhat different. If we find Mr. Ramaswami Raju§ giving us a

* See Ro. II. viii. ix. xvi.; III. iii. vii. xii. xv.; IV. ii. xv. xvii.; Av. x. xiv. xx. These are, of course, not all the parallels from these two sources, but only those in which I could find no other Oriental variants.

† See Ro. I. vi.; III. iv. vi. xiv.; IV. i.; V. iv. ix. xvi.; Av. x. xiii. xvii.

‡ I have selected this, as Capt. Temple's *Survey* at the end gives an analysis of all the other modern Indian collections. It is, besides, one of the most readable and most scientific collections that have been made outside Grimm.

§ Mr. Raju's collection is perfectly uncritical, which is all the better for our purposes, but does not indicate his sources, which is so much the worse. I may mention as a curiosity that his tale of *The Fox and Crabs*, p. 28, affords

modern Indian version of *The Ass and Watch-dog* (p. 63,) which we can trace back into remote Indian antiquity; there is some presumption that the fable of *The Woodman and Trees* (p. 47, cf. Ro. III. xiv.) can also trace back so far, and we shall produce later on evidence which confirms this inference. And so too when we find in Captain Temple's collection so thorough an Indian folk-tale as *The Brahman, Tiger, and Jackal* (p. 116, cf. Ex. V. iv.) which we can trace back to the earliest times in India, the probabilities are great that the twenty-second fable of Avian (here Av. xvii.) may also be traceable to the original Indian form of the current folk-tale, *The Farmer and the Moneylender* (p. 215) in which the farmer, being granted a wish by Ram on condition that the money-lender gets double, demands to have one of his eyes put out! But we need not linger over these probabilities when we have so many actualities of the Indian antiquity of "Æsop's" Fables in the Bidpai literature.*

a striking parallel to Alice's ballad of *The Walrus and the Carpenter*. *The Tiger, Stag, and Crocodile* (p. 67) is a bit of Munchausen.

* I may here refer my readers to the Introduction of my

Here again we must distinguish. The Bidpai literature as analysed in all its offshoots by Benfey, covers a period ranging between 300 B.C. and 1000 A.D. We must accordingly divide the parallels to the Caxton occurring in it into three different strata. There are first what may be termed the Cainozoic parallels occurring only in the Persian and other versions made from the original after it had left India or in those parts of the Indian original that bear signs of late insertion.† Then we come on the parallels occurring in the main body of the work in its original and most ancient form. These deserve to be mentioned at length: they are, *The Dog and Shadow* (Ro. I. v.; Benf. § 17), *The Man and Serpent* (I. x. cf. II. x.; B. § 150), *The Two Bitches** (I. ix.; B. § 144), *The Eagle and Raven* (I. xiv. cf. Av. ii.; B. § 84), *The Crow*

edition of the earliest English version of Bidpai in this series.

† See Ro. I. i. iii. xiii. xvi. xvii. xx.; II. iii. xiii. xiv. xv. xx.; III. xiv. xvi. xx.; IV. iv. xii. Ex. V. iii.; Ro. i. xvi.; Av. vii. xvii. xxiv. These and other Greek and Indian parallels of this description are discussed by Benfey §§19, 58, 77, 112, 118, 160, 220, 222, 227, 229, 230.

* In the sequel I have not discussed Benfey's parallels for the Fables marked with an asterisk, as they do not appear to me to be close enough to necessitate the hypothesis of borrowing.

with Cheese and Fox (I. xv.; B. § 143), *The Lion and Mouse* (I. xviii.; B. § 130), *Frogs desiring a King** (II. i.; B. § 164), *Parturient Mountain* (Ro. II. v.; B. § 158), *The Good Man and Serpent* (II. x. cf. I. x.; B. § 150), *The Bald man and Fly* (II. xii.; B. § 105), *Jay and Peacock* (II. xv.; B. § 29), *Androclus** (III. i.; B. § 71), *The Ephesian Widow** (III. ix.; B. § 186), *The Sick Lion* (III. xx.; B. § 22), *Fox and Grapes** (IV. i.; B. § 45), *Cat and Rats* (IV. ii.; B. § 73), *Dragon and Hart* (Ex. V.† iv.; B. § 150), *Fox and Cat* (Ex. V. v.; B. § 121), *Serpent and Labourer* (Ex. V. viii.; B. § 150), *The Butting Goats* (part of Ex. V. x.; B. § 50), *Eagle and Weasel* (Re. ii.; B. § 84), *Fox and Goat** (Re. iii.; B. § 143), *Man and Wooden God** (Re. vi.; B. § 200), *Tortoise and Birds* (Av. ii. cf. I. xiv.; B. § 84), *Ass in Lion's Skin* (Av. iv.; B. § 188), *The Two Pots* (Av. ix.; B. § 139), *Goose with Golden Eggs* (Av. xxiv.; B. § 159). Here then at last we seem to have our oldest Indian fables that can be compared with the oldest Greek fables. But if that were all our search

* See note *, preceding page.

† Parallels from Book V. do not count in the present connection, as there can be no doubt of their derivation for the most part from India. See *infra*, pp. 159 *seq.*

after an earlier source than the Greek for "Æsop's" fables would be in vain. For the earliest form of the Bidpai cannot trace back earlier than the third or at most the second century A.D., and the whole body of Greek Fable can trace back as early as that if not earlier. But though the Bidpai must have been put together in something like its present shape at the time when Brahmanism was winning back the ground from Buddhism, it still retains survivals of a Buddhistic tone in many of its sections; and some of these we can fortunately trace back to the portion of sacred Buddhistic literature known as the *Jātakas* or Birth-Stories of the Buddha. These tell of the Buddha's adventures during his former incarnations, sometimes in the shape of a bird, beast, fish, or tree. As some of them have been found sculptured on Buddhist topes dated in the third century B.C., they must be at least older than that period, and it is probable that many of them may really be derived from Sakyamuni, who flourished 453 B.C.* If, then,

* Many may be even older. Buddha probably adopted the Jātaka form of inculcating a moral lesson just as Christ made use of the Parable so popular with the Rabbis.

we can trace any of the above Fables back to the Jātakas, we have come upon a really Palæozoic * stratum of the Bidpai Fables, and are at last in a condition to compare the earliest Indian with the earliest Greek Fables. The Jātakas had not been published when Benfey wrote in 1859, but from traditional accounts of them in English descriptions of Ceylon,† he managed to trace nearly all the Æsopic sections of the Bidpai, which were so traceable, to the Jātakas. These we may now proceed to consider in some detail.

I. We may begin with one which he did not so trace, because it does not happen to present any parallelism with any part of the Bidpai literature, and does not accordingly occur in the above list. It is of especial interest to us because it gives the earliest extant form of the fable of *The Wolf and the Crane*, which we have already traced through the Middle Ages up to Phædrus. It happens also to be a good, and not too long, specimen of the general plan on which the Jātakas are formed.

* The remaining parables occurring in the original Bidpai but not in the Jātakas would form a Mesozoic stratum of the Bidpai Parallels. See *infra*, p. 89.

† Chiefly Upham, *Sacred Books*, and Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*.

JĀVASAKUNA-JĀTAKA.*

[V. Fausböll, *Five Jātakas*, pp. 35-8.†]

A service have we done thee.—This the Master told, while living at Jetavana, concerning Devadatta's treachery. "Not only now, O bhikkhus, but in a former existence was Devadatta ungrateful." And having said this, he told a tale:—

In former days when Brahmadatta reigned in Benares, the Bodhisat was born in the region of Himavanta as a white crane. Now it chanced that as a lion was eating meat a bone stuck in his throat. The throat became swollen, he could not take food, his suffering was terrible. The crane seeing him as he was perched on a tree looking for food asked, "What ails thee, friend?" He told him why. "I could free thee from that bone, friend, but dare not enter thy mouth for fear thou mightest eat me." "Don't be afraid, friend, I'll not eat thee, only save my life." "Very well," says he, and caused him to lie down on his left side. But thinking to himself "Who knows what this fellow will do," he placed a small stick upright between his two jaws that he could not close his mouth, and inserting his head inside his mouth struck one end of the bone with his beak. Whereupon the bone dropped and fell out. As soon as he had caused the bone to fall, he got out of the lion's

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* This first appeared in European literature in De la Loubère *Royaume de Siam* (1691), ii. 25.

† I have ventured to English Prof. Fausböll's version, which was intended merely as a "crib" to the Pali text.

mouth striking the stick with his beak so that it fell out and then settled on a branch. The lion gets well and one day was eating a buffalo he had killed. The crane thinking "I will sound him" settled on a branch just over him, and in conversation spoke this first verse (*gâtha*)—

"A service have we done thee
To the best of our ability
King of the Beasts! Your Majesty!
What return shall we get from thee?"

In reply the Lion spoke the second verse—

"As I feed on blood
And always hunt for prey
'Tis much that thou art still alive
Having once been between my teeth."

Then in reply the crane said the two other verses—

"Ungrateful, doing no good,
Not doing as he would be done by
In him there is no gratitude
To serve him is useless.

"His friendship is not won
By the clearest good deed.
Better softly withdraw from him
Neither envying nor abusing."

And having thus spoken the crane flew away.

The Master having given this lesson, summed up the Jâtaka thus: "At that time, the Lion was Devadatta and the crane was I myself."

The part in italics is termed the "Story of the Present," that in ordinary type the "Story of the Past." These are extant in Pali reversions of Cingalese translations of the original Pali. Of this last the verses (*gāthā*) are "survivals," and probably date from 400 B.C. The stories were probably written down as commentary on the *gāthas*, with the first lines of which they invariably begin. The significance of these *gāthas* will concern us later on.

So much for the form of the Jātaka. The subject-matter is so clearly parallel to the fable of *The Wolf and Crane*, which we have seen current in the Greco-Roman world, that it is impossible not to surmise some historical connection between the two. What that precisely is we may leave for discussion till we have further evidence before us.

II. We may next take the Jātaka version of *The Ass in the Lion's Skin* (No. 189 in Fausböll's edition, *Sīha-Cama Jātaka*, tr. Rhys-Davids, pp. v. vi.). A hawker used to dress his ass in a lion's skin, and thus obtained gratis forage for him, as the watchmen of the fields dared not go near him to drive him away. One day, however, they plucked up courage,

and summoned a posse of the villagers, and surrounded the pseudo-lion, who, in the fear of death, hee-hawed. Then the Buddha, who had been re-born as one of the villagers, said the first *gātha*—

"This is not a lion's roaring,
Nor a tiger's, nor a panther's:
Dressed in a lion's skin,
'Tis a wretched ass that roars."

and the hawker returning just as the ass died from the blows, recited the second—

"Long might the ass
Clad in a lion's skin
Have fed on the barley green,
But he brayed!
And that moment he came to ruin."

Here again the similarity of the Greek and Indian fables is too pronounced to leave much doubt about a historic connection. As Mr. Rhys-Davids remarks, the Indian fable gives a motive for the masquerade which does not exist in the Greek version.

III. Among the Jātakas translated by Dr. R. Morris in the *Folk-Lore Journal* (II.–IV.), I have found one which gives a parallel to *The Dog and Shadow* fable, which Benfey could

not trace farther than the *Ur-Pantschatantra* (§ 191). It is No. 374 of Fausböll's edition, bears the euphonious title of *Culladhanuggaha Jātaka*, and in abstract runs as follows (cf. *FLJ.* ii. 371 *seq.*). An unfaithful wife eloping with her lover arrives at the bank of a stream. There the lover persuades her to strip herself, so that he may carry her clothes across the stream, which he proceeds to do, but never returns. Indra seeing her plight changes himself into a jackal bearing a piece of flesh, and goes down to the bank of the stream. In its waters fish are disporting, and the Indra-jackal, laying aside his meat, plunges in after one of them. A vulture hovering near seizes hold of the meat and bears it aloft, and the jackal returning unsuccessful from his fishing is taunted by the woman, who had observed all this, in the first *gātha*.

"O Jackal so brown, most stupid are you,
No skill have you got, nor knowledge, nor wit;
Your fish you have lost, your meat is all gone,
And now you sit grieving all poor and forlorn."

To which the Indra-jackal retorts the second *gātha*—

"The faults of others easy are to see,
But hard indeed our own are to behold;
Thy husband thou hast lost, and lover eke,
And now, I ween, thou grievest o'er thy loss."*

Here we miss the (somewhat unnatural) episode of the dog (or jackal) mistaking the image for the meat, but otherwise the parallel is sufficiently close to render borrowing probable.† It is scarcely likely that two nations would independently hit upon the loss of a piece of meat as a symbol of the punishment of over-greed.

IV. Our next example of the Palæozoic stratum of the Bidpai, which is found also in

* These *gâthas* are imitated in the Pantschatantra thus (*Pants.* V. viii., p. 311, Benfey's trans.):—

Bk. V. Str. 64. The fish swims in the waters still, the vulture is off with the meat:
Deprived of both fish and meat, Mistress Jackal, whither away?

Str. 65. Great as is my wisdom, thine is twice as great;
No husband, no lover, no clothes, Lady, whither away?

† In the Arabic Æsop, Loqman (No. 51), the animal is a dog, as in the Greek, and the meat is captured by a vulture, as in the Indian form. Benfey thinks the image in the water is derived from *The Hare and Elephant*, which may be the origin of our *Fox and Goat* (Re. iii.; Benf. § 143).

Buddhist Birth-Stories, shall be that entitled by Caxton, *Of the tortoise and of the other byrdes* (Avian ii.). Caxton, and Avian his original,* are hard put to it to find an appropriate moral to a rather senseless apologue. But in what we cannot help regarding as the true original, the *Kacchapa Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 215, Rhys-Davids, pp. viii.–x., reprinted in my *Bidpai*, pp. lxv.–lxvii.), the fable is directed against chatterboxes. Two young hamsas, friendly with a tortoise, offer to carry him to their favourite pasture ground, if he will bite a stick which they will carry; they warn him, however, to keep his mouth closed during the flight. While on the wing all the birds of the air collect about the curious spectacle, and make remarks by no means complimentary about the tortoise. His natural disposition to loquacity overcomes him, and opening his mouth to expostulate with them, he loses hold of the stick and falls to the ground. Buddha utilises the incident to

* It occurs also in Babrius 115, where the tortoise offers all the treasures of the Erythræan sea for its aerial journey, a trait which, as Mr. R. Ellis remarks, points to an Indian original.

reprove a loquacious king by summing it up in the *gātha*—

"Verily, the tortoise killed himself
Whilst uttering his voice,
Though he was holding tight the stick
By a word himself he slew.

"Behold him then, O excellent by strength
And speak wise words not out of season.
You see how by his talking overmuch
The tortoise fell into this wretched plight."

This fable has probably had influence on that of *The Eagle and Raven* (Ro. I. xiv.), and is probably not disconnected with the story of the death of Æschylus by an eagle dropping a tortoise on his bald cranium; this occurs for the first time as late as Ælian (vii. 17).

V. I will now put in the Jātaka variant for the well-known fable of *The Wolf and Lamb*, a parallel which has not hitherto been pointed out. It is the *Dipi Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 426, translated by Dr. Morris, *Folk-Lore Journal*, iv. 45). A panther meets a kid; what follows is sufficiently indicated by the *gāthas* they utter:—

"*Pan.* On my tail have you stept, you false-speaking Kid,
You have done me much harm, you careless young thing. . . .

Kid. Your face was towards me, your tail was unseen, . . .
How then could I tread on the end of your tail?

Pan. My tail is full long and reaches so far
As to cover the earth and its quarters all four, . . .
How then could you miss to step on my tail?

Kid. To avoid your long tail, O Panther depraved,
Through the air did I come, and touched not the ground. . . .

Pan. O Kid, I did see you come through the air;
The Beasts you alarmed and frightened full sore, . . .
And thus you quite spoilt the food that I eat."

"Thus e'en the little Kid in piteous terms
Did beg the Panther spare her tender throat.
But he athirst for blood did tear her throat,
And then her mangled body greedily ate.
Unkind of speech, unjust the wicked is,
Nor listens he at all to reason's voice."

If this occurred alone, the parallelism would not be sufficient to make any borrowing hypothesis necessary. But taken in conjunction with the other examples, it becomes probable that the form with which we are familiar is merely a softening down of the Indian exaggerations due to the Greek sense of *καιρός*. We have another variant of a similar kind in *The Cat and Chicken* (Re. iv.). And I have found a Tibetan version of this very *Jātaka* contained

in Schiefner's collection of *Thibetan Tales* (Ralston's Trans., No. xxix.); the personages have actually become *The Wolf and the Sheep*, from which it is but a slight step to our familiar Wolf and Lamb.

VI. *The Bald Man and Fly* (Ro. II. xii.) finds a parallel in an exaggerated form in two *Jātakas*, which are obviously variants of one another, to speak Hibernically. These are Nos. 44 and 45 of Fausböll's edition, and have been translated by the Bishop of Colombo in *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* (Ceylon Branch), vol. viii. 167–70.* In the first, the *Makasa Jātaka*, a mosquito settles on the "copper-basin-like head" of a carpenter, who requests his son to relieve him of the annoyance. The son seizes an axe, and nearly hits the mosquito. The result is summed up in the *gātha*—

> "Better a foe for
> Than a friend of sense bereft;
> The stupid son to kill the gnat
> His father's headpiece cleft."

The other, or *Rohini Jātaka*, merely changes the sex and the weapon. Its *gātha* runs—

* No. 44, also by Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iv. 387, from the text of the Jātaka supplied him by Fausböll.

"Better a sensible enemy
Than a fool, however kind he be;
Look at silly Rohini:
She's killed her mother, and sore weeps she."

It is to be observed that the moral is quite different in the fable current among the Greeks, as represented by Phædrus (V. ii. ed. Riese). Indeed missing a fly is not such an extraordinary circumstance that we need go all the way to India in order to explain it.

VII. There are also two Jātakas which resemble the Fable of the *The Fox and Crow*, in so far that we find a fox (jackal) and crow flattering one another. In one (the *Jambukhādaka Jātaka*, Fausböll, No. 294, tr. Rhys-Davids, p. xii.) a crow is eating Jambus when he is thus addressed by a passing jackal—

"Who may this be, whose rich and pleasant notes
Proclaim him best of all the singing birds,
Warbling so sweetly on the Jambu-branch,
Where like a peacock he sits firm and grand."

To which the crow replies

"'Tis a well-bred young gentleman who knows
To speak of gentlemen in terms polite!
Good sir—whose shape and glossy coat reveal
The tiger's offspring—eat of these, I pray!"

Buddha in the form of the genius of the Jambu tree, comments in the third *gātha*—

"Too long, forsooth, I've borne the sight
Of these poor chatterers of lies—
The refuse-eater and the offal-eater
Belauding each other."

The positions are reversed in the *Anta Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 276 tr. R. Morris, *F.-L. J.* iii. 363) the *gāthas* of which will explain the situation—

Crow.

"All hail to thee, O king of beasts,
A lion's strength dost thou possess,
And shoulders broad just like a bull;
Perhaps you'll leave a bit for me."

Jackal.

"Full well doth he who is of gentle birth
Know how to praise a well-bred gentleman.
Come down, dear crow, with neck like peacock's hue,
Wait here awhile and eat thy fill of flesh."

Buddha, (in form of an Erawa tree).

"Of beasts the jackal vilest is and worst,
Of birds the crow is least esteemed and praised,
Erawas are the trees in order last,
And now together come the lowest three."

VIII. The goose that lays the golden eggs

may next engage our attention. She finds her Indian analogue in the flamingo that moults golden feathers and is plucked bare by her greedy owner (*Suvannahaṃsa Jātaka*, Fausböll, 136, tr. R. Morris, *F.-L. J* iv. 171). The moral is the same—

"Be content with what's given, seek not to get more,
O'ergreedy the wicked, unsated they are.
Then the gold flamingo was stripped of his plume
His feathers of gold all their colour did lose."

IX. There is a Jātaka which has peculiar interest for us in the present connection, though the Fable which it parallels is not among those of Steinhöwel or Caxton. It rejoices in the name of *Suvannakakkata Jātaka*, is No. 389 in Fausböll's edition, and has been translated by R. Morris in *Folk-Lore Journal*, iii. 56. A Brahmin has a crab for a friend and a crow [illegible]ny. The latter induces a serpent to [illegible] Brahmin, whereupon the friendly [illegible]e crow. What follows is told in

[illegible]ssing snake with hood outspread,
[illegible]rab full near did come,
[illegible]riend in need to help a friend,
him the crab did sieze.'

Serpent.

"If for the man we two so fast are held
Let him arise and I'll the venom draw,
Release at once the crow and me, my friend,
Before the poison strong o'ercomes the man."

Crab.

"The serpent I'll release, the crow not yet,
We shall remain a while within my claws:
But when to health I see my friend restored,
E'en as the snake the crow I will set free."

He fulfils the promise by nipping off both their heads "as clean as a lotus-plant." Crabs are not so frequently in the habit of seizing serpents and conversing with them that we can consider the following fragment of a Greek scholion or table-song quite unconnected with the above Jataka—

ὁ καρκῖνος ὧδ' ἔφα
χαλᾷ τὸν ὄφιν λαβών.
εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἔ-
καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν.*

---

* Furia, Coraes, and Benfey attribute Wagener: and Mr. Rutherford deny the a latter, however, grants the archaic flavour o the same time the full fable in the Greek 346) has only a slight resemblance to the Ind

X. Envy not "Sausages."—*Once*, says the "Story of the Present" of the *Munika Jataka* (Fausböll, No. 30, tr. Rhys-Davids, pp. 275-7), *it happened at the Jetavana Monastery that one of the monks fell in love. On that occasion the Teacher asked the monk, "Is it true what they say, that you are love-sick?" "It is true, Lord!" said he. "What about?" "My Lord! 'tis the allurement of that fat girl." Then the Master said, "O monk! she will bring evil upon you. Already in a former birth you lost your life on the day of her marriage, and were turned into food for the multitude." And he told a tale:—*

[Once when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares the Bodisat was a large red ox, and was called 'Big-red;' he had a brother named 'Redlet.' The daughter of the house was an heiress engaged to be married, and they were fattening up a pig named Munika (= 'Curry-bit-ling,' *vulgo* Sausages) for the wedding feast. Redlet complains to Big-red that they have to do all the carting on grass and straw, while Munika is fed on boiled rice for doing nothing. In answer Big-red says the *gatha*—

> "Envy not 'Sausages,'
> 'Tis dearly food he eats.
> Eat your chaff, and be content,
> 'Tis the sign of length of life."

Soon after Munika became Munika indeed, and Redlet was comforted.]

Then the Master made the connection and summed up the Jataka by saying: 'He who at that time was Sausages the Pig was the love-sick monk, the fat girl

was as she is now. Redlet was Ananda, but Big-red was I myself.' *

We can be sure that the "Tale of the Past" reached the West, since it is found almost exactly in the same form (with the substitution of asses for oxen) in the Jewish Midrash Rabba* (Great Commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Rolls) on Esther iii. 1, where its foreign origin is shown by the reference to pig as suitable festival diet, and the use of the word *Kalends* for festival. And if it got as far as Syria (probably *viâ* Alexandria) there is little doubt it was current elsewhere in the Hellenic world, and we accordingly find an obvious variant of it in the Greek fable of *The Calf and the Ox* (Halm, 113; Avian, ed. Ellis, 36), while Phædrus' *Asinus et Porcellus* (V. iv.) seems to be a corollary on it.

XI. The peacock is an Indian native, and was too rare in Greece to give rise to a folk-fable.

* I have thought the "Story of the Present" interesting enough in this case to be given in full.

† It was by mistake that Benfey (p. 229) attributes this to Berachyah Hanakdan. There is therefore no need, with Mr. Rhys-Davids (*l.c.*), to assume a direct passage of the Jataka to the West in the thirteenth century. Dr. Landsberger, I may observe, pointed out the Indian parallel (*Fabeln des Sophos*, p. xxxvii).

Under these circumstances we may connect the two fables in our collection dealing with the brilliant bird (*Juno, the peacock, and the nightingale*, Ro. IV. iv., and *The crane and peacock*, Av. xii.) with a Jātaka which has at least this much in common with those that it lays stress on the vanity of the bird. It is the *Nacca-Jātaka* (No. 32 of Fausböll's edition tr. Rhys-Davids, 291–4) in which the King of the Golden Geese seeks a mate for his heiress, and selects the peacock. He in the exuberance of his joy exclaims, "Up to to-day you have not seen my greatness," and proceeds to show his dancing powers. In so doing he exposes himself and the haughty monarch says the *gātha*—

> "Pleasant is your cry, brilliant is your back,
> Almost like the opal in its colour is your neck;
> The feathers in your tail reach about a fathom's length,
> But to such a dancer I can give no daughter, sir, of mine!" *

XII. Among Phædrus' fables, though not among Caxton's, there is one (I. xx). in which some dogs, to get at a hide at the bottom of a river, set to work to drink the river up, so as

* The Nacca-Jātaka is figured on the sculptures of Bharhut, though in a fragmentary condition (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xxvii. 11).

to reach it; they burst in the process.* This is paralleled by the *Kaka-Jātaka* in which crows try to drink up the sea with a similar object. (Fausb. 146; tr. R. Morris, *F.-L.J.* iv. 59.) The *gātha* runs:

"E'en now our weary jaws do ache,
Our mouths indeed are parched and dry,
Idle work and toil, no rest, no truce,
And still again the sea doth fill."

The analogy is not so noteworthy but for the fact that two of the best-known Jātakas (given in Benfey, §82, from Hardy *Manual* 106 and Hiouen Tsang, I. 325) relate how the Buddha overcame the opposition of Indra by his pertinacity in attempting to bale out the sea (or a river in the second case).† We can be certain that the former of these reached the West, since the Jewish Midrash Rabba on Esther iii. 6, I find, compares Haman to a bird that had built its nest by the sea-shore, and attempted to carry away the advancing sea inland.

* Cf. too Rom. App. 43, where a fox does the same in trying to get at the moon in the river, which he mistakes for (green?) cheese. This is an Indian trait (cf. Benf. i. p. 349). And *cf. Nights with Uncle Remus*, xix.

† Cf. Sydney Smith's celebrated image of Mrs. Partington repelling the Atlantic with a mop. The Buddhist feeling in the matter would be to applaud the courage and faith of the good lady.

XIII. Another Jātaka which parallels an Æsopic Fable not in our collection is the *Virocana Jātaka* (Fausb. 143, tr. R. Morris, *F.-L.J.* iii. 353). Here a lion adopts a jackal, who at last comes to think himself a veritable lion, and once requests his foster-father to stand aside while he shows the king of beasts the proper way to bring down an elephant. The result is disastrous, as is shown in the *gātha* :—

> Thy head is split, thy brains are oozing out,
> All broken are thy ribs by this huge beast;
> In sorry plight thou findest thyself to-day.
> Full well, I ween, thou art conspicuous now.

There is another Jātaka of a similar character given by Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, 233, *ap.* Benf. i. 104), in which a Jackal is taken as a servant by a lion, who gives him a share in his booty. He waxes fat, and seeing one day that he has four legs, two canine teeth, two ears, and a tail, just like the lion, determines to start business on his own account. He emits his little roar, but no beast fears him, and he cannot bring down any prey. Benfey, § 29, points out the close analogy of one of Aphthonius' fables (c. 350 A.D.) in which a fox serves a lion, becomes proud, tries his own hand, and perishes

(Halm, 41). He omits to notice the great similarity of Phæd. I. xi (*Asinus et Leo Venantes*, cf. R. IV. x.), where the ass and lion go a-hunting together and the ass emits his terrible bray, this time, however, with more effect. I am the more inclined to suspect a foreign origin for this owing to the unnatural conjunction of an ass and a lion as fellow-hunters, and am inclined to think the ass has got into the story through some mistranslation, which occurs most frequently in the names of birds, beasts, and fishes, as every one knows who has had much to do with translation.* I would add that it seems to be a story like one of those contained in the above Jātakas to which a certain Rabbi referred when he taunted another with the proverb, "The lion has turned out a fox" (Talm., *Baba Kama*, 117a).†

XIV. We may close our comparison of the

* They are almost like proper names; provided some animal is mentioned the version construes; *e.g.* Æsop's fable (*supra*, p. 27) is generally spoken of as the *Fox and Horse-Leechus*. I suspect also that something of the same kind has occurred, Phæd., I. v, (Ro. I. iv.); to make *Vacca*, *Capella*, *Ovis*, fellow-hunters with *Leo*. See *infra*, p. 166.

† Landsberger, p. xlvii., refers the saying to a fable analogous to Babr. 101, Halm, 272, which may again be referred back to the above Jātakas. *Cf.* too Av. 40.

Jātakas with one that bears some relation to the closing fable of Stainhöwel's collection, really from the Romulus but included in the "Fables of Poge" (*Fox, Cock, & Dogs*, p. 307). In the *Kukkuta Jātaka* (tr. Morris, *F.-L. J.*, ii. 333; *cf.* Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, 77) a cat approaches a cock perched on a tree and tries in vain to inveigle him down, as is told in the *gāthas*:—

"*Cat.* O lovely bird, with feathers bright of hue, ...
I'll be thy wife, thou shalt have naught to pay.
Cock. We birds pair not with quadrupeds.
Go, seek another mate elsewhere. . . .
Many wiles have women clever, good men they will deceive
With soft and oily words, as Puss would cheat the cock. . . ."

At first sight the analogy with the mediæval form does not seem very close. But I think I can show by a curious piece of evidence that the present form of the Jātaka has been truncated, and that in its original version there was some reference to a third *dramatis persona*. For the *Kukkuta Jātaka* happens to be one of those sculptured on the coping of the Stupa of Bharhut, and is accordingly figured in Sir A. Cunningham's monograph (Pl. xlvii. 5). We

can be certain of its identity, since the name of the Jātaka is inscribed above the figures.* From the facsimile which we give it will be observed

that there is an object at the foot of the tree which is evidently of importance in the story,

* This may possibly be a case of the traditional migration of illustration to which I called attention in my *Bidpai*, pp. xx.-xxiii.

but does not occur in the present version of the Jātaka. General Cunningham suggests that it represents the bunch of bells worn by Nautch girls, and is placed in the sculpture as a symbol of the wakefulness of the cock. I think it however more likely that it represents the presence of a watcher behind the tree, as occurs in the Greek form of the Fable (Furia, 88; Halm, 231), and in the Romulus here.* The original form of the Fable would thus be merely a variant of the *Biter bit* formula. In the form in which it occurs in the present version of the Jātakas, the story is not rounded off, and it only serves to illustrate the peculiarly Buddhistic conception of the innate corruption and deceit of the feminine nature.

Thus far the evidence of the Jākatas, and—important point—no further.† I have been

* By a most remarkable coincidence, James, in his version of the Fable (No. xxxii. p. 22), has a reference to the bell; "The Cock replied, 'Go, my good friend, to the foot of the tree, and call the sacristan *to toll the bell*'" But there is nothing to warrant this in the Greek original.

† I have rejected *The Conceited Jackal* (*Supra* XIII.), regarded as a proposed variant of the Daw in peacock's feathers; the *Bavéru J.* (*F. L. J.*, iii. 124) is closer. The *Sammodamāna J.* (No. 33) is not close enough to the *Lion and Four Oxen* (Av. xiv.), nor the *Sakuṇa J.* (No. 36) to *The Swallow and Birds* (Ro. I. xx.; Avian, 21), though they have the same moral.

taken to task for declaring my conviction that the Pali scholars have played out their best trumps in dealing with this question. (*Bidpai*, Introd., li., note). After having gone more fully into the matter I still retain that opinion. The whole of the Jātakas have now been published, and if any very striking analogy with Æsop's Fables had been found among them, we should doubtless have heard of it. Dr. Morris' selections in the *Folk-Lore Journal* ranged over the first four hundred and fifty of the Jātakas, and the remaining hundred are not likely to have a richer yield, as they are those with the longest *gāthas*. At any rate, we cannot permit the Pali scholars to win tricks with cards which they keep up their sleeve; and the above dozen or so instances must stand for the present as representing the contribution of the Jātakas to the question of the origin of "Æsop's Fables." *

But this contribution, though scanty, is important. The Jātakas, or at least the *gāthas*, in archaic Pali, which form the nucleus of

* What is wanted for folk-lore purposes is an abstract of all "the stories of the past," with a translation of their *gāthas*. This could be got within a volume of a size similar to Mr. Rhys-Davids'.

them, were carried over to Ceylon in a complete form 241 B.C.; they had been sculptured in the Stupa of Bharhut about that date; they formed a topic of dispute at the Buddhist Council of Vesali, c. 350 B.C., and we can scarcely fix their collection, very nearly in their present form, at least as regards the *gāthas*, at much later than 400 B.C. This is before any contact between Greek and Hindoo thought can be taken into account.* Besides this, the stories have, in the majority of cases, nothing Buddhistic about them, and were evidently folk-tales current in India long before they were adapted by the Buddhists to point a moral; and some of them were probably used by Buddha himself for that purpose in the fifth century B.C. Altogether, the probabilities are strong that we have in them genuine and native products of Indian thought, and that where we find them later among the Greeks they are borrowed products. At any rate, we may accept this as a provisional result which renders it worth while putting in and considering the other In-

* The first notice of India in Greek literature is in one of the fragments of Hecataeus (fl. 500 B.C.). *Cf.* Bunbury's *Ancient Geography*, i. 142. But see *infra*, p. 100.

dian evidence of a later date before summing up.

We may first take some references found by Weber and Liebrecht in the Mahabharata, which may serve as an appendix to the Palæozoic stratum of the Bidpai. The Mahabharata is the Indian Iliad and Odyssey and Æneid and *Gerusalemme Liberata* and *Orlando Furioso* and *Faerie Queene*; at least it is equal to all these, and more also, in point of bulk. Such a huge mass affords grand accommodation for interpolation, and parts of the Indian epics have been dated as early as the Upanishad stage of the Vedic literature, and others as late as the Christian era. It is, accordingly, impossible to use references occurring in it with much confidence, as to their date, except that we may be sure it is B.C., and so anterior to Phædrus. Such analogies to Greek fables as have been observed in it * occur by way of casual reference, somewhat in the same way as the earliest Greek

* There has been no systematic search made through the Mahabharata; Weber owns that he had only made a perfunctory one. It is from this quarter accordingly that we may anticipate the largest addition to our knowledge of the existence of Æsop's Fables in India that yet remain to be made. *Cf.* Benf. i. 554 *seq.*, on the probabilities of Abstemius' Fable, No. 70, being derived from Mh. xii. 4930.

Fables enumerated on p. xliv. This has its importance, as showing that in India, as in Greece, the fable was current among the people, and formed part of their folk-lore. It confirms, too, the impression that the Buddha, in using the fable, was only applying a general practice of his day.

XV.–XVII. Three of these references we may dismiss very shortly. Liebrecht has found a very explicit reference to *The Man and Serpent* (Ro. I. x.) in Holtzmann's translation of parts of the Mahabharata.* There seems also to be a reference to *The Oak and Reed* (Ro. IV. xx.) in the complaint of the sea, that rivers bring to it oaks but not reeds (Mh. xii. 4198).† Again, the request of the camel for a long neck in *The Camel and Jupiter* (Av. vii.) finds its analogue in the Indian epic (Mh. xii. 4175).‡ That the last two of these reached the pale of Hellenism is proved by their appearance in Jewish writings †

* *Indische Sagen*, 2nd edition, II. 210 (*ap. Jahrb. eng. u. rom. Phil.* iii. 146). I cannot find it in the first edition, the only one accessible to me.

† It is, perhaps, worth while remarking that it is from the twelfth book of the Mahabharata that three books of the *Ur*-Bidpai were taken (Benfey, 219–22).

‡ They occur in form of proverbs: "Be flexible as the reed, not stiff as the cedar" (Talm. *Taanith* 20*a*); "The

XVIII. Finally, there is a reference in the Mahabharata (xiv. 688) to a fable similar to *The Belly and Members* (Ro. III. xvi.), which deserves closer attention, as it is, in many ways, the most remarkable fable in existence. A variant of it, or something very like it, was discovered six years ago by M. Maspero in a fragmentary papyrus, which he dates about the twentieth dynasty (c. 1250 B.C.). It is, consequently, the oldest fable in existence, and as such we may give it:—

Trial of Belly *v.* Head—wherein are published the pleadings made before the supreme judges—while their President watched to unmask the liar—his eye never ceased to watch.* The due rites having been done—in honour of the god who detests iniquity—after the Belly had spoken his plea—the Head began a long harangue:—

'Tis I,' 'tis I, the rafter of the whole house—whence 'the beams issue and where they join together—all 'the members . . . on me and rejoice. My forehead 'is joyous—my members are vigorous—the neck 'stands firm beneath the head—my eye sees afar off

camel asked for horns and had his ears cut off" (Talm. *Sanh.* 106*b*).

* I have ventured to substitute this for the "pleurer" of M. Maspero which gives no sense, though he makes out of it a very pathetic (and very French) picture of the judge weeping at the eloquence of the advocate—before the speeches are delivered.

'—the nostril expands and breathes the air—the 'ear opens and hears—the mouth sends forth sound 'and talks—the two arms are vigorous—and cause a 'man to be respected—he marches with head erect—'looks the great in the face as well as the lowly . . . 'Tis I that am their queen—'tis I the head of my 'companions . . . Who would play a trick—or is 'there any would say—"Is it not false?" Let them 'call me the head—'tis I that cause to live . . .'*

Here the fragment breaks off, and we cannot tell if judgment went with the plaintiff as in the Roman fable. For it will be observed that the fable, if fable it can be called, takes the form of a mock-trial, corresponding, as M. Gaston Paris has pointed out, to the *débat* which is so familiar in mediæval French literature.† From this point of view the *débat* of Belly and Head affords us the earliest example of legal procedure extant.

We again meet with the fable in the Upanishads, whence it doubtless got into the Mahabharata, and perhaps too into the Zend Yacna:—

* Academie des Inscriptions, *Séance* of 5th Jan. 1883, p. 5.

† As a matter of fact a kind of *débat* on this very subject was published in 1545, *Cinq Sens de l'homme*. There was also a *Mystere* on the same subject (Migne, *Dict. d. Myst.*, s. v. *Membres*).

Dispute of the Senses and the Soul.*

The senses disputed among themselves saying, "I am the first, I am the first." They said: "Let us go out of the body, whichever shall cause the body to fall by its departure shall be the first." The word departed, the man spoke no more, but he still ate, drank, and lived; the sight departed, the man saw not, but still ate, drank, and lived; [and so with the hearing, &c.]; the mind went forth, intelligence left the man, but he still ate, drank, and lived. The soul departed, no sooner was it without than the body fell. [They again disputed and tried who could raise the body with the same result.]

A similar apologue existed among the Buddhists as we know from the fact that it exists in the Chinese Buddhistic work *Avadanas* (No. 105); it occurs also in the *Pantschatantra*:—

The Bird with Two Heads.

Once on a time on Mount Himavat there was a bird named Jivanjiva. This had one body and two heads, one of which used to eat fine fruit to give strength and vigour to the body. The other became jealous and thought, "Why should that head always eat fine

---

* I take this from the Italian abridgment of Signor Prato, who has written an interesting paper on *L'Apologo di Menenio Agrippa* in *Archivio per trad. popolari*, iv. 28–40. The full text of the Zend version is given by Burnouf, *Sur le Yaçna*, notes pp. clxxii. *seq.*

fruit, of which I never taste one?" Accordingly it ate a poisonous fruit and the two heads perished at the same time.*

I have also found a Jewish variant, though with a somewhat different moral:—

THE TONGUE AND THE MEMBERS.

(*Schoecher Tob* on Ps. xxxix. 1).

A Persian King sick unto death was ordered the milk of a lioness (Heb. *Lebia*). [A man obtains it after many adventures.] On his return the members disputed in the night. The feet said, 'Had we not gone the milk had not been got': the hands, 'We milked;' that was the chief thing': the eyes, 'But for us the lioness could not have been found out.' The heart reminds them of her wise counsels. At last spoke the tongue, 'But for me where would you have been?' To the retorts of the other members, the only reply is, "You'll soon see!" Next morning the man came before the King and handing him the milk, said, 'There is the milk of the bitch' (Heb. *Kalba*). [The man is ordered off to execution.] On the scaffold the members wept but the tongue laughed. 'What did I tell you? Are you not all in my power? However, I'll take pity on you?' The tongue called out, 'Lead me once

* Cf. the Midrashic apologue of the quarrel between the head and tail of the serpent which should go first. The tail leads the head a merry dance; "so it is when the lowly lead the great" (*Midr. Rabba*, Deut. § 5).

more to the King.' In his presence it said, 'I have truly brought you the milk of a lioness, Sire. *Kalba* is Arabic for lioness.' They tasted, and tried, and found it right, and sent the man away with great gifts. Then said the tongue, 'See now, life and death are in my hand' (Prov. xviii. 21).

But there is a still more striking use of the fable by a Jew. There can be little doubt that St. Paul had a similar fable* in his mind in the characteristic passage (1 Cor. xii. 12–26).†

The body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body. . . . For the body is not one member but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling? . . . And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary: and those parts of the body

* The passage combines the Indian idea of the contest of the members with the Roman notion of the organic nature of the body politic.

† R. V., omitting the theological inferences.

which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness; whereas our comely parts have no need . . . And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it, or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it.

As this passage is the foundation of the doctrine of the Visible Church, and indirectly of the conception of the Body Politic (of which Hobbes made such quaint use), we cannot well overrate the importance of the fable on which it is founded.

We have thus seen this fable of the Body and its Members with its Belgian motto, *L'union fait la force*, forming part of the sacred literature of Egyptians and Chinese, of Brahmins, Buddhists, and Magians, of Jews and Christians.* The reader must not, however, assume that these are all necessarily derived from one source. On the contrary, I have given the various versions at length as an instructive example how different nations may hit upon very much the same apologue to illus-

* As it occurs also in the legendary history of Rome, and in the quasi-sacred pages of Shakespeare, where it fills the whole of the second scene of the first act of *Coriolanus*, we might add Romans and Englishmen to the above list.

trate the same idea. Carefully examined, the various versions may be reduced to four independent ones. The Egyptian *débat* stands by itself, the Brahmin *Contest of Senses and Soul*, occurring in the Upanishads, recurs in the Indian epic, in the Persian scripture, and, possibly through the latter, in Jewish commentaries, and may thence have influenced St. Paul. The lost Buddhist apologue of *The Bird with Two Heads* found its way to China, and was received into the Bidpai literature. The Roman fable is remarkable as being the only fable of its kind in Latin literature which can claim to be current among the Romans.* It occurs late, and may have been interpolated by Livy, like so much of his work. But on the whole I am inclined to regard it as a genuine Roman folk-fable, and another instance of the sporadic use of the fable—as in the Egyptian example above, or in Cyrus' fable of *The Piper turned Fisherman* (Herod. i. 141), or in Jotham's and Joaz' fables in the Old Testament (Jud. ix. 8–15; 2 Kings xiv. 9)—by nations who have

* Ennius has a reference to *The Piper turned Fisherman* (Ro. vii.), and to *The Swallows and other Birds* (Ro. I. xx.). But he was acquainted with Greek, and might have got the first from Herodotus.

not otherwise shown a turn towards that particular form of the apologue. The whole inquiry ought to make us careful in the future how we admit borrowing without sure evidence either of identity of the fables or of contact between the nations using them.

For there still remain a number of Indian parallels to our fables, in what I call the Mesozoic stratum of the Bidpai literature—passages, that is, which formed part of the original form of the book, but cannot be traced back among the Jātakas. Taken by themselves, they could scarcely be adduced as valid evidence, as they cannot be traced back even as early as 300 A.D., when the Greco-Roman collections were already in existence. But the Jātakas have shown us evidence of similar stories being current in India from five to seven centuries before that, and the analogues from the Indian epic can trace back nearly as far. Besides Indian writers were veritable Jeremy Diddlers in the way of literary borrowing, and the whole of the Bidpai, even in its earliest form, strikes one as a vast plagiarism. It becomes, therefore, probable that the Bidpai stories of the Mesozoic stratum have the same antiquity as the Jātakas

or the Mahabharata. We may therefore proceed to add to our previous parallels such of these as have close analogy with Greek fables, being somewhat more particular as to the closeness of the parallelism than we were in the case of the Jātakas or the epic references.

XIX. We may begin with the fable of *The Lion and Mouse*, which occurs in the *Pantschatantra* in the form of *The Elephant and the Mice* (II. App. 1, Benf. ii. 208–10). The mice had made a settlement by the banks of a river whither elephants came to drink, and on their way disturbed and crushed many of the mice. A deputation is sent to the king of the elephants, who graciously commands his troop to select another passage to the watering-place. Soon after the troop are captured in pits and then bound to trees.* The king sends for aid to the mice, who come and gnaw away the thongs and free the whole troop. There is one decisive criterion which proves the priority of the Indian form and the dependence of the Greek

* In the Southern redaction there is but one elephant, and he is not bound to the tree. The mice rescue him by filling up the pit. *Cf.* Benf. i. 304.

upon it. Elephants are frequently bound by cords to trees, lions never are.

The Indian origin of this fable would be rudely shaken, however, if we could trust the inferences Herr Lauth drew from a Leyden papyrus which he discovered, and the pertinent part of which he translated as follows:*—

[Lion catches mouse who speaks as follows]: 'O 'Pharaoh, my superior, O Lion, if thou eatest me, 'thou wilt not fill thyself; thy hunger will remain. 'Preserve for me the breath of life as I preserved it 'for thee in thy trouble . . . on thy unlucky day.' Then the Lion reflected and the Mouse said to him: 'Remember the hunters; one had a line to bind thee, 'another a leash. There was also a cistern dug before 'the lion; he fell in and the lion was prisoner in the 'pit; he was pledged by his feet. Lo, there came a 'little mouse before the lion and freed thee.† There-'fore, reward me. I was that little mouse.'

There, sure enough, we have the fable of *The Lion and the Mouse* in Egyptian literature, and the question arises how and when did it get there. Now the Leyden papyrus (I. 384) is written in demotic, *i.e.*, sometime between

* Munich *Sitzungsberichte*, 1868, ii. 50. *Die Thierfabel in Egypten.*

† The mixture of persons is due to Herr Lauth, who, it is perhaps worth while adding, was the author of some wild theories about *Mose der Egypter.*

500 B.C. and 200 A.D., and the latter terminus is the more likely since other parts of the papyrus contain *Coptic* versions of the Ritual of the Dead. But Herr Lauth was not satisfied with this: he finds a comic picture of a mouse driving a chariot in the celebrated satiric papyrus of Turin which dates about 1150 B.C. He therefore calmly assumed that the above fable was of the same date, and this bold bad assumption has passed *viâ* Sir R. F. Burton and the versatile Prof. Mahaffy (*Proleg. Anc. Hist.* 390) into the article 'Beast Fable' of Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, and a whole pyramid of theory about the African origin of the fable has been based upon it, the apex of which is downward in the sand. There can be little doubt that the Egyptian fable is a late conveyance from the Greek.

XX. Our next example will illustrate not alone the derivation of a Greco-Roman fable from the Indian, but also Benfey's analytical powers. In the fable of *The Good Man and Serpent* (Ro. II. x.), he has traced, without any reasonable doubt, the survival of an Indian fable, which we find complete and consistent in its Indian form, but which is only preserved in

unmeaning fragments in Greek and Latin fable. We can best indicate the relationship of the three different versions, by displaying them side by side, and indicating by a series of bars the passage where the classic fables have failed to preserve the original.

BIDPAI.

A Brahmin once observed a snake in his field, and thinking it the tutelary spirit of the field, he offered it a libation of milk in a bowl. Next day he finds a piece of gold in the bowl, and he receives this each day after offering the libation. One day he had to go elsewhere and he sent his son with the libation. The son sees the gold, and thinking the serpent's hole full of treasure, determines to slay the snake. He strikes at its head with a cudgel, and the enraged serpent stings him to death. The Brahmin mourns his son's death, but next morning as usual brings the libation of milk (in the hope of getting the gold as before). The serpent appears after a long delay at the mouth of its lair, and declares their friendship at an end, as it could not forget the blow of the Brahmin's son, nor the Brahmin his son's death from the bite of the snake.

—*Panis.* III. v. (Benf. 244-7).

PHÆDRINE.

- - - A good man had become friendly with the snake, who came into his house and brought luck with it, so that the man became rich through it. - - - One day he struck the serpent, which disappeared, and with it the man's riches. The good man tries to make it up, but the serpent declares their friendship at an end, as it could not forget the blow. - - - -

—Phæd. Dressl. VII. 23 (Rom. II. xi ; Ro. II. x).

BABRIAN.

- - - - - - - -

A serpent stung a farmer's son to death. The farmer pursued the serpent with an axe, and struck off part of its tail. Afterwards fearing its vengeance he brought food and honey to its lair, and begged reconciliation. The serpent, however, declares friendship impossible, as it could not forget the blow - - - nor the farmer his son's death from the bite of the snake.

—Æsop Halm 95[b] (Babrius-Gitlb. 100).

While in the Indian fable every action is properly motivated, the Latin form does not explain why the snake was friendly in the first instance, or why the good man was enraged afterwards, while the Greek form starts abruptly without explaining why the serpent had killed the farmer's son. Combine the Latin and Greek form together, and we practically get the Indian, which is thus shown by Benfey's ingenious analysis to be the source of both.

XXI. In Babrius (95), though not in Caxton, there is a fable of a fox enticing a deer to the cave of a lion no less than twice by an appeal to his ambition. On the second occasion the lion seizes the beast and kills it. Going away, he finds on his return the heart of the deer missing. Making inquiry from the fox (who, of course, has eaten it), he is answered that an animal that could have been induced to put itself twice in the power of a lion could have no heart (*i.e.*, sense). Exactly the same story, finishing with the same witticism, occurs in the *Pantschatantra* (IV. ii.), except that an ass occurs instead of a deer, and his amorous propensities are played upon to induce him to

return a second time. Which of these is the original, which the derivate? Both Weber (*Ind. Stud.* iii. 388) and Benfey (§ 181) are strongly in favour of the Greek, more on general grounds than for any specific reason. I think I can reverse their result. There exists a Jewish variant (*Jalkut* on Exod., § 182) in which the ass asks toll of King Lion and is killed; the heart disappears, and the fox declares the ass had no heart or he would not have asked toll of a lion. Now here the dupe is an ass, as in the Indian fable, not a deer, as in the Roman. No one will nowadays suggest that the Jewish writer obtained the story from a Roman source, changed the deer to an ass, and then transmitted it to India. It must have been *vice versâ*. The story got to Alexandria with the ass as the dupe, passed thence to Judæa and Rome, and in the latter place was transformed by Babrius into a deer. We shall see later on that this is not an isolated instance where the Jewish evidence turns the scale in favour of Indian origin.*

* In the particular case before us, we might add that the reference to the heart as the seat of intelligence exactly corresponds to the Sanskrit *hṛdaya*, whereas Achilles' taunt to Agamemnon of κραδίη ἔλαφοιο would

XXII. A couple of strophes of the *Pantschatantra*, III. 13, 14, Benfey, ii. 215) bear remarkable resemblance to the fable of *The Two Pots* (Av. ix.). They run as follows:—

13 Who cannot put up with things from pride
oft falls through his equals;
When two unbaked pots strike together,
they both break in two.

14 To vie with the mighty
brings oft death to the lowly;
Like a stone that breaks a pot,
the mighty remain unhurt.

Here again, as in many previous instances, I can produce a Jewish parallel in the Talmudic proverb, "If a jug fall on a stone, woe to the jug, if a stone fall on a jug, woe to the jug" (*Midr. Est. ap.* Dukes' *Blumenlese*, No. 530). The Jewish form is nearer the Indian (str. 14) than that we are accustomed to from Avian, a fact not without its significance, as we shall see. Taken by themselves, the three cases might be regarded as fortuitous coincidences. But it should be emphasised that we cannot take such cases by themselves. The strength of the chain

seem to imply that it was regarded by the Greeks rather as the seat of courage.

of tradition, against all catenary laws, depends on its strongest not upon its weakest link. When we have so strong a case as *The Wolf and Crane* or *The Countryman, Son, and Snake*, these communicate their strength to their weaker brethren, because if we prove borrowing in one or two cases, the probabilities of borrowing in the latter cases become stronger in proportion, and what look like fortuitous coincidences turn into cases of borrowing. And examined more closely, the particular case we are considering is not so fortuitous as it looks. There are many ways in which the dangers of ambition can be expressed symbolically.* It would be indeed strange if three nations independently should hit upon the fragility of an earthen pot to express the idea. It is for this reason that the Fable affords such a stronghold for the Borrowing theory; its symbolical character renders it doubly improbable that two nations should independently hit upon the same symbol, unless an extremely obvious one, for the same moral lesson.

XXIII. We may conclude this part of our

* "Set a beggar on horseback," "Vaulting ambition o'erleaps itself," *The Ass as Lapdog* formula, are among those that occur to me at this moment of writing.

inquiry with an Indian parallel to *The Maiden transformed into a Cat*, which we have previously traced back to Phædrus. I must confess the analogy does not appear to me so striking, but I include it in deference to Benfey's opinion, which is the more noteworthy, as he is generally inclined to trace Indian to Greek fables rather than *vice versâ*, as here. The Indian story runs as follows (*Pants.* III. xii.; Benf. ii. 262–6):—A Brahmin saves a mouse and turns it into a maiden, whom he carefully educates. When nubile, he determines to marry her to the most powerful being in the world. He goes to the sun, but the sun declares that clouds can obscure him, while the mouse-maiden declares he is too hot for her. The clouds in their turn confess inferiority to the winds before which they scud, while they are too cold for the mouse-maiden. The winds again yield to the mountain, against which they storm in vain, while the mouse-maiden objects to their unsteady conduct. The mountain is too hard for the mouse-maiden, while it confesses that the mice are stronger than it, since they bore through its interior. Finally the Brahmin goes with his adopted daughter to the

Mouse King, and asks her her pleasure. 'But 'she, when she saw him, thought, "he is of my 'own species;" her body became beautified by 'her hair standing on end from joy, and she 'said, "Papa, make me into a mouse and give 'me to him as a wife, so that I may fulfil the 'household duties suitable to my species." And 'he made her into a mouse by the might of his 'sanctity, and gave her to him as a wife.'

The story, it will be seen, has, in common with the classic fable, the transformation of a lower animal into a maiden, her being given in marriage, and the moral,

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.

On the other hand, the marriage in the Phædrine form occurs before the revelation of the true nature, and the maiden is an enemy of the mouse in disguise. I should therefore hesitate before granting any influence of the Indian on the Greek fable, but for two points which tell in favour of it. The first is that it postulates so strongly the animistic theory of metempsychosis, which has remained active in India during all historic time, while in Greece we meet with it at best as a "survival;" in the Roman fable itself

it is regarded as so strange that it requires the power of Jupiter to effect the change, and even he only does it as an experiment, which fails, to the merriment of the other gods. The other point is that there is a certain amount of evidence that the episode of strong, more strong, stronger, stronger still, and strongest, reached the west, at least as far west as Syria. For in Jewish legends about Abraham we find him arguing with Nimrod that fire should not be worshipped because water can put it out; nor this, because the clouds carry it; nor those, because the winds bear them; nor these, because man can withstand them.*

If we allow, with Benfey, the Indian origin of *The Cat-Maiden*, then certain important points follow. For we find the fable referred to by Strattis (c. 400 B.C.), and by Alexis (c. 375 B.C.), before Alexander's expedition to India. We must accordingly allow for some percolation of Indian stories, possibly through Persia, to Greece, as early as the fifth century B.C.† This would render it more likely that *The*

* *Ber. rab.* § xxxviii. *cf.* Beer. *Leben Abrahams*, II and *n.* 92. Similarly in the Talmud, *Baba batra* 10*a*.

† Liebrecht traces a story that the Cardians lost a battle because their steeds had been trained to dance to music,

Dog and Shadow and others (see *infra.*, p. 129) had also penetrated thence at an early date into Greece. I would add that the peculiar assumption that the mice are stronger than the mountains among which they burrow may have provoked the Greeks that heard the tale to the burlesque of a fable immortalised in Horace's line.

Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.

We have now before us all * the evidence on which we are to decide whether the Greeks derived their fables, all or some, from India. The most strangely diverse answers have been given to this question by those who have considered it at length. Two classical scholars, A. Wagener (in his *Mémoire sur les rapports des apologues de l'Inde et de la Grèce*, Brussels, 1854) †

told by Charon of Lampsacus (fl. 470 B.C.) to a Buddhistic legend, now only extant in the Chinese *Avadanas* (No. 10). *Zur Volksk.* p. 27.

* Or nearly all, see *infra* p. 110 *seq.* I may remark that I have been exceptionally rigid in cases occurring only in the Bidpai and have entirely rejected those in which the probabilities are of Greek origin for the Indian variants. For our present purpose these have only a secondary import for us.

† Wagener has the merit of having been practically the first to give detailed instances of the resemblance of Indian and Greek fables. He selected twenty examples

and O. Keller (*Untersuchungen über die Geschichte d. griech. Fabel*, Leipzig, 1862), declare most strongly for the Indian origin. Two Indian authorities, A. Weber (who discusses each of Wagener's points seriatim in his *Indische Studien*, Bnd. III. 327–72) and T. Benfey, are inclined to trace all resemblance between the two to Greek influence percolating through the Greco-Bactrian kingdoms, left in the backwater of Alexander's invasion. Weber bases his conclusion chiefly on æsthetic grounds; the Greek fables are too clear-cut and artistic to have been derived from the *longueurs* of Indian fable. To this might be replied from the standpoint of evolution that it is not the most definite which comes first, and from the standpoint of classical scholarship that the fables in which Weber sees such classical finish are the Greek verses of a Roman or mediæval prose derivates from these. Benfey is less decided in favour of India; in six cases (§§ 29, 130, 143, 150, 158, and 200; *cf. supra* XIII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXIII.) he allows Indian influence. But in some fifty

with excellent judgment, one quarter of them turning out afterwards to be Jātakas, and eight occurring in the above list.

other cases he declares for a Greek origin, and traces the Indian parallels, often very slight ones, I may observe, to Hellas. He draws a distinction, which seems to me quite illusory, between fables in which the animals act like human beings and those in which they behave naturally, and restricts the former to India.* This of course gives the majority to Greece, since many fables are merely applications of the Beast-Anecdote. But what was, or ought to have been, the determining factor in Benfey's mind in determining the relative priority of the two sets of fables he is considering, those occurring in the Bidpai literature and their Greek parallels, is the comparatively late date at which the Bidpai fables are first found. Strictly speaking, we first know of them by the Pehlevi translation, executed under Khosru Nushirvan about 550 A.D. They are probably a couple of centuries earlier, and some of them can be traced to the Jātakas which, we now know, are nearly a thousand years older than Nushirvan. But Benfey had no reason for suspect-

* If the distinction were valid, every fable in which an animal is represented as speaking should be traceable to India.

ing so early a date for the Jātakas; and at the same time classical authorities placed Babrius much earlier than what we now know to be his date. Under the circumstances Benfey was justified* in giving priority to the set of fables which make the earlier appearance in literature so far as the materials at his disposal enabled him to judge. We now know the chronological order of the various sets of fables which come into dispute to be as follows:—

Greek.	*Indian.*	*Parallels.*	*Strata of Bidpai.*
	Jātakas.	I.–XIV.	Palæozoic.
Ancient (*supra*, pp. 26–8).			
	Mahabharata.	XV.–XVIII.	
Phædrus. Babrius. Avian.			
	Bidpai.	XIX.–XXIII.	Mesozoic.
	Additions to Bidpai.	(*Cf.* note p. 51.)	Cainozoic.

While Benfey's chief Indian source came last in chronological order, he was perfectly justified in treating it as the recipient. I cannot help thinking that the determination of the early date of the Jātakas would have, in his opinion, transposed the relation of borrower and lender.

* In my *Bidpai*, p. xlvii., I spoke somewhat disparagingly of Benfey's judgment for this, not taking the above considerations into account. It was my judgment that was at fault.

Of recent years the relative position of classical and Indian scholars has changed. Mr. Rutherford, in the Introduction to his edition of Babrius, dismisses the possibility of Indian influence in a few contemptuous phrases. How is it possible, he asks, that a nation so original as the Greeks should be indebted for their fables to the childish Orientals, with their page after page of weak moralising, capped by a so-called fable? And so, with a lofty wave of the hand, he bids the Indians go to their appropriate diet (κύνες πρὸς ἔμετον is his phrase), and passes on. Now, such æsthetic tests of origin have been proved to be illusory over and over again; and, as a matter of fact, we know that the Greeks were much indebted to Orientals both in art and religion; why not in literature? We might very well ask Mr. Rutherford how he judges of the superior beauty of the Greek fable; which of the eight fables which, as we have seen, form the Corpus of genuine Greek fable, does he regard as a model? I must confess that, notwithstanding their length, I find much animation and dramatic point in the "Stories of the Past" contained in the Jātakas, as is but natural, considering that the animistic

spirit vitalises them. The *gāthas*, too, put the chief points of each *Jātaka* in very concise and striking form. But apart from all this, questions of origin cannot be dismissed in this lofty way. When we find cases of similarity so close as those of *The Wolf and Crane*, *The Ass in Lion's Skin*, *The Lion and Mouse*, and *The Countryman and his Son and the Snake*, there can be no doubt there has been borrowing on one side or the other. It is, as the Germans say, a case of *either-or*. And considering that the Jātakas belong to the Canon of Buddhist Scriptures, into which foreign ingredients would enter with the greatest difficulty,* and, as a whole, are much earlier than the main body of Greek fable as it has come down to us, the alternative must rest with them. There can be little doubt that most of the Greek fables enumerated above—with perhaps a few others—are derived from Indian ones

* It is but fair, however, to state that the Bishop of Colombo (*Journ. Ceyl. Asiat. Soc.*, viii. 114) considers that the shaping of the *Losaka J.* (No. 41) has been influenced by some form of the Odyssey. It is possible, too, that the *Mahosadha J.* (Rhys-Davids, p. xiv.) preserved some form of Solomon's judgment brought to Ophir (Abhira at the mouth of the Indus) by Phœnician sailors. But see *infra*, p. 131.

similar to, or identical with, those contained in the Jātakas.

But not all, or nearly all, Greek fables are so derived, as Mr. Rhys-Davids contends in the interesting Introduction to his translation of the first forty Jātakas (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, I., Trübner, 1880). For to reach this conclusion Mr. Rhys-Davids has to make two assumptions, one of them wrong in point of fact, the other wrong in point of method.* He assumes that our "Æsop" is derived from the Greek prose versions attributed to Planudes, which he takes to have been brought together for the first time late in the Middle Ages, after the Bidpai literature had had time to reach Greece. We have seen that, on the contrary, our Æsop is mainly Phædrus in prose, and that the Greek prose Æsop is for the major part Babrius in prose. It follows that our "Æsop" could not have been influenced by the Bidpai *literature*, which does not reach Europe till the eleventh century. The other assumption is "that a large number of them

* To say nothing of a third equally erroneous assumption that the Bidpai (in all its branches too) is entirely derive from the Jātakas.

[Æsop's Fables] have been already traced back, in various ways, to our Buddhist Jātaka book, and that almost the whole of them are probably derived, in one way or another, from Indian sources" (*l. c.* p. xxxv.). The large number referred to turns out, we have seen, to be no more than a dozen. Now the *Corpus* of Greco-Roman fable amounts to 500 (Phædrus 200, Babrius 300), or say 300 themes, allowing for doublets and pseudo-fables (expansions of proverbs, &c.*). It is probable that the Jātakas contain as many; of the first 50, 28 are either beast-tales or beast-fables. It is idle to talk of a body of literature amounting to 300 numbers being derived from another running also to 300, when they have only a dozen items in common. And Mr. Rhys-Davids' further argument that because some of the Greek fables can be shown to be derived from the Jātakas, therefore it is probable that most of them were so derived, savours somewhat

* On this see some interesting remarks by Mr. Rutherford, *l. c.* xliii.-vii. Of the 148 Babrius fables contained in Mr. Rutherford's edition, only 16 occur in Phædrus, to which may be added another dozen in the prose derivates of Phædrus.

of the Fallacy of the Priest of Neptune.* 'Revere the Deity, my son, and pay his fees,' said he, 'see the number of votive tablets pre-'sented by those who vowed them to the god 'and were thereby saved from drowning.' 'But 'where, holy father,' asked the irreverent tar, 'are the votive tablets of those who vowed and 'were not saved?' We may grant the Pali scholars every credit for the dozen votive tablets erected to the honour of Buddha in the temple of Æsop, but we must at the same time point to the 300 places where votive tablets are not. Of course, if only a few Jātakas were extant, and among these a considerable proportion found parallels in Greek fable, Mr. Rhys-Davids might be justified in assuming that a similar proportion of parallels would have occurred in the missing Jātakas. But all the Jātakas are extant, and we can only allow the Pali scholars to count the parallels which they can prove to exist among the Jātakas in

* This fallacy so rife in investigations of this kind has never received a name. Formally, it is a sub-species of the Fallacy of Accident (*a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*). It is the method by which statistics may be made 'to prove anything,' and in that science might be called the Fallacy of Selection.

existence. And these, as we have seen, amount at present to no more than a dozen or so.

As a contrast to the case of the Jātakas, we may consider the Talmudic fables, which are of interest also in many other connections, as we shall see. The industry of Jewish scholars* has only been able to unearth about thirty fables from the vast expanse of Talmudic and Midrashic literature. Yet, few in number as they are, they are of crucial importance critically. I have little hesitation in saying that they have given me the clue to the whole international history of the ancient fable.†

In order to substantiate this somewhat

* Dr. Landsberger in the introduction to his edition of *Die Fabeln des Sophos*, Dr. Back in a set of papers in Graetz' *Monatsschrift*, between 1876 and 1886, and Hamburger in his *Realencyclopädie des Talmud*, s.v. *Fabel*. I have myself been able to add seven to the scanty list, chiefly by a careful scrutiny of Talmudic proverbs, as given in Dukes' *Blumenlese*.

† Dr. Landsberger missed the crucial importance of the Talmudic beast-fables, because (1) he was ignorant of their Indian analogues except in the five cases where his name is mentioned, (2) he was occupied in maintaining the wild thesis of the Jewish origin of Greek fable, *i.e.* of the derivation of a body of 300 fables, some of which can be traced back to the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. from some 25 to 30 fables, the earliest of which is of the beginning of the second century A.D.

startling assertion, I must analyse somewhat minutely the whole body of Talmudic fables, dividing them into five classes as follows:

(1.) Talmudic fables common to the classical and the earlier strata of Indian fables. We have already seen this in the cases of *The Oxen (Asses) and Pig* (X. Landsb. p. xxxvii.), *The Proud Jackal* (XIII. Landsb. xlix.), *Oak and Reed* (XVI. Landsb. lii.), *Camel and Horns* (XVII.), *The Ass' Heart* (XXI.), and *The Two Pets* (XXII.), and we shall shortly see that it applies to *The Lion (Wolf) and Crane* (I.).

(2.) Talmudic fables found among the classical ones and likewise in later strata of the Indian ones. These include *The Lean Fox* (*Midr. Koh* v. 14 Babr. 86 c. Benf. § 19) *The Mouse and Frog* (I. iii. Bacher *Agada d. Amoräer* 42), *Man and Wood* (Ro. III. xiv.), *Man and Two Wives* (Re. xvi. Ph. II. ii),* and what is generally known as the only extant example of the 300 Fox-Fables of R. Meir, *The Fox and Lion*

* The Jewish references for these two classes will be found in the Synopsis of Parallels. They are mostly from the Midrash Rabba or Great Commentary on the Pentateuch and Five Rolls. There is a German translation of this by Dr. A. Wuensche (*Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Leipzig, 1880-6).

(Av. (Ellis) 24 cf. Benf. § 62).* I have, however, come across another, which affords an extremely curious variant of the *Gellert* formula, which has hitherto escaped notice, though it happens to be the earliest in existence. It runs as follows (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, p. 79 *b*):—

"When a man's ways please the Lord,
He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him" (Prov. xvi. 7).

R. Meir said: That refers to that dog. Once the shepherds had milked their flock. While they were away, a serpent came and licked some. The dog observed this, and when the shepherds returned to drink the milk, the hound began to bark at them, as who should say, 'Drink it not!' But they did not understand him. Then he himself licked some of the milk and died straightway. They buried him and erected to him a cairn, and it is called to this day "The Dog's Grave."

This form occurs late in the Bidpai (*cf.* Benf., § 202), but is found in Babrius-Gitl. 255 (Halm. 120). I would add that the idea of an animal (or Buddha in the guise of an animal) sacrificing his life for others is an essentially

* This is only extant in two late and discordant versions of the tenth (Hai Gaon) and eleventh (Rashi) centuries (Hamburger, *l. c.*)

Buddhistic one, and occurs frequently in the Jātakas, notably in the beautiful Jātaka of the Banyan Deer (Fausböll, No. 12, tr. Rhys-Davids, 205–10), and still more in the celebrated *Susa Jātaka* (Fausböll 316, tr. Morris, F.-L.J., ii. 336), in which Indra, in reward of the hare's self-devotion, places its image on the moon, where it is to be seen to this day. Every Buddhist thinks of that type of self-sacrifice whenever the moon is full.*

(3.) Talmudic fables found in India, but not among the classical ones. These include *Bird and Waves* (XII.), *Head and Tail of Serpent* (XVIII.), *Tongue and Members* (XVIII.), *Strong, Stronger, Strongest* (XXIII. Landsb. liii.), *The Fox and Fishes* (Talm. *Beracoth*, 61*b*. cf. the *Baka Jātaka*, reprinted in my *Bidpai*, pp. lviii.–lxiv., and Dr. Back, *ap.*, Graetz' *Monatsft.*, 1880, p. 24), and *The Reanimated Lion* (*Vajikra rabba*, §

* I was asked by a friendly critic in the *Daily News* why Buddha should be identified with the Rabbit in the *Uncle Remus* stories, the chief of which, *The Tar Baby*, I had traced to the Jātaka of the Demon with the Matted Hair (*Bidpai*, Introd., pp. xliv.–vi.). I would account for it by a reference to the *Susa Jātaka*. I may add that Mr. Andrew Lang has since found the *Tar Baby* a step nearer India in the West Indian Islands (*Longman's Mag.*, Feb. 1889). See also *infra*, pp. 136–7.

22, cf. *Pants.* V. 4, Benf. § 204, Landsb. lxiv. = *Sanjivaka Jātaka*).

(4.) Then come the Talmudic fables to be found among the Greeks, but not in India. These are: 'Man's years are those of Horse, Ox, and Hound' (*Midr. Koh.* i. 2, Babr. 74,* Landsb. lviii.), *The Shepherd and Young Wolf* (*Jalkut*, § 923, cf. Halm 374 (= Babrius-Gitl., Landsberger, p. lxii.). To these I would add *The Crow (Serpent) and Pitcher* ("A serpent was seen pouring water in a flask full of wine, so as to get at the wine," Talm. *Aboda sara*, 30*a*, cf. Av. xx.); *The Fir and Bramble* (Av. xv. "Firs are only good to cut down," *Shemoth Rabba*, 97*b*); perhaps *The Daw in Peacock's Feathers* ("Crows adorn themselves with their own as well as others' property," *Midr. Est.* 83*b*, cf. Ro. II. xv.); and *The Scorpion and Camel* ("A scorpion was trodden under foot by a camel; 'I'll soon reach your head,' said he," *Jalk.* § 764 *ap.*, Dukes' *Blum.* No. 565, cf. Av. xxiii.).†

* If I had space it would be interesting to trace the influence of this on Shakespeare's *Seven Ages of Man* (*As you like it*, II. vii.). Cf. Taylor, *Pirqe Aboth.*, 111, and Löw, *Lebensalter*, 22 and notes.

† The idea of a mouse biting an ox in the apologue of Avian does not seem very consistent, and looks more like a misunderstanding.

(5.) Finally, we have the Talmudic fables for which I have not been able to find either Indian or classical analogues: *Chaff, Straw, and Wheat* (*Ber. Rab.*, § 83), who dispute for which of them the seed has been sown: the winnowing fan soon decides (cf. Matt. iii. 12); *The Caged Bird* (*Midr. Koh.*, § 11), who is envied by his free fellow, possibly a variant of the *Mūṇika Jātaka*; *The Wolf and Two Hounds* who had quarrelled; the wolf seizes one, the other goes to his rival's aid fearing the same fate on the morrow (*Sifre*, i. 157): this looks like a variant of *The Lion and Oxen* (Av. xiv.); *The Wolf at the Well* (*Midr. rab* Esther, § 3), which is covered with a net: "If I go down," says he, "I am caught; if I do not, I perish of thirst:" *The Cock and Bat* (Talm. *Sanh.* 98*b*), who sit by one another awaiting the dawn: says the cock, "I wait for the daylight for that is my signal; but thou?—the light is thy ruin:" and the grim Beast-tale of *The Fox as Singer* (*Midr. rab. Esther* iii. 1) which, as it is short, we may give:—

The Lion once gave a feast to the beasts of forest and field, and spread over them the skins of lions, wolves, and other wild beasts. After they had eaten

and drunk they asked: 'Who'll sing us songs?' and looked at the Fox. "Will you join,' said he, 'in the chorus with me?" "Yes," they all cried. He said:—

What he has shown us above
Soon he'll show us below.

We have now before us the whole extent of the Talmudic Beast-fables,* and it is not difficult to see how strongly they contrast with the Greek or Indian collections. Both these consist of about 300 fables, of which not more than a score or so can be traced elsewhere, whereas the Jewish list runs to about thirty, of which all but six, or perhaps only four, can be traced either to India or Greece, or both. It is the obvious inference that the Beast-fable in Judæa is a borrowed product, and the only question is from which of the two sources

* I have confined myself strictly to these, and have therefore omitted *The Euphrates and Tigris, The Lie and Destruction* (but cf. Babr. 70), and *The Sun, Moon, and Stars before God* (and similar "holy" fables, to use Dr. Back's distinction). Hamburger gives the names of two fables, *The Lion and Fox*, and *The Cat and Weasel*, with a wrong reference (*Ber. rab.*, § 38), which I cannot check. I fancy the former is but a doublet, of which there are many in his list, of *The Fox as Singer*, and the latter is a reference to the proverbial saying when enemies join, "Cat and Weasel are married" (Talm. *Sanh.* 105*a*).

it has been derived.* All our evidence turns in favour of India. For where the Greek and Indian forms of the fables common to the three differ, the Jewish form agrees with the Indian, not the Grecian. We have already seen a triad of instances of this (*The Belly and Members*, *The Two Pots*, and *The Ass' Heart*); we may now find a fourth in the earliest Talmudic fable that can be dated. This turns out to be our old friend *The Wolf (Lion) and Crane*, which runs thus in the Great Commentary on the Pentateuch (*Ber. Rabba, ad. loc.*):—

[Gen. xxvi. 28. And we said: let there be even now an oath betwixt us.]

In the days of R. Joshua ben Chananyah† the wicked ruler gave permission to rebuild the Temple. [But the Samaritans plotted against this and arranged that the condition should be that it should be rebuilt on a different site, which would destroy its sacrosanctity. The Jews on receiving the message met in

* The smallness of the total number precludes the possibility of the Jews having had access to more than one collection.

† "I care not if my lot be as that of Joshua ben Chananyah; after the last destruction he earned his bread by making needles, but in his youth he had been a singer on the steps of the Temple, and had a memory of what was, before the glory departed," says Mordecai in *Daniel Deronda*, chap. xl.

the Vale of Beth Rimon and midst tears and cries determined to disobey the Emperor's command. R. Joshua ben Chananyah * was sent to quiet them.] He went to them and told them this fable: A lion had devoured a beast and a bone thereof stuck in his throat. He issued the proclamation "Whoever will come and take out this bone for me, shall receive his reward." An Egyptian partridge came by, which has a long beak: it put this into the lion's jaws and pulled out the bone. "Give me my reward," it thereupon said to the lion. "Go," answered he, "thou canst laugh and say that thou hast gone in and out of a lion's jaws in safety." So too we may rejoice, added the speaker, that we have been received into this nation and shall get out of it in safety.

Professor Graetz, in an elaborate excursus, (*Geschichte der Juden* Bnd. iv., note 14), has shown that the event here referred to took place in the year 118 A.D., which is accordingly the date of the earliest Talmudic fable which can be chronologically fixed.† As a matter of fact it is probably twenty or thirty years earlier,

* He was called "The man of the golden mean" (Graetz, *Gesch.* iv. p. 15). He gave utterance to the noble saying, "There are saints among the Gentiles, and they too have a place in Heaven" (*Tos. Sanh.*, c. 13, ap. Graetz, *l.c.* 427). On some piquant passages between him and early Christians see Güdemann *Religions geschl. Studien.*

† Dr. Joel fixes the occurrence under Trajan two years earlier.—*Blicke*, i. p. 17 *seq.*

as we shall see, but the public use of the fable probably dates from 118 A.D., and here again we see the fable beginning its career in a new home as a political weapon. But just at present we may notice how this new example confirms the three former ones in agreeing with the Indian form of the fable on the point in which it differs from the Hellenic, viz., in making the chief actor a lion instead of a wolf. If R. Joshua had known of the Grecian form he could scarcely have avoided using it in a case where it would have been natural to identify Rome with a wolf in the significant hint with which he concluded his harangue. This clinches the Indian origin of the Talmudic Beast-fables, and it only remains to ask how and by whose means they came from India to Judæa. I fancy I have been able to discover even this point by a careful study of the short and simple annals of the fable in the Talmud, which run as follows.*

* Hamburger luckily gives his fables in chronological order, though with many doublets and wrong references. I may mention that though the bulk of Talmudical and Midrashic works are anonymous, most of their contents can be dated, since the authors of the statements are given in the majority of instances, and modern Jewish science has established the dates and sequence of these with tolerable accuracy.

We first hear of Beast-fables in the Talmud in connection with R. Jochanan ben Saccai, who established the schools of Jabne (near Jaffa) after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), and there founded Rabbinical Judaism. Of him it is said (Talm. *Succa*, 28*a*, and parallel passages), "He did not leave out of the circle of his studies even the *Mishle Shu'alim* (Fox-fables) and the *Mishle Kobsim*." The last phrase has puzzled the commentators and lexicographers greatly; the nearest they can get to it is "the fables of the washermen." For the moment we will reserve the solution of this mystery. We next hear of R. Meir* living in the middle of the second century, knowing 300 Fox-fables.† Then the history finishes with the statement of the Mishna (*Sota*, ix. 15), "With the death of R. Meir (c. 190 A.D.) Fabulists ceased to be." Now let

* Two monographs have recently been written on this teacher: R. Lévy, *Un Tanaïte* (Paris, 1883), and A. Blumenthal, *Rabbi Meir* (Frankfort, 1888). The latter contains a chapter on his fables (pp. 97–107). It was he, it will be observed, who told the *Gellert* story (*supra*, p. 112).

† The exact words (*Synh.*, 38*b*) are "R. Meir had (*yesh lo*) 300 Fox-Fables." As we have seen, only one is extant, as indeed was the case in Talmudic times (See W. Bacher, *Agada d. Tanaiten*, ii. 7).

us try and interpret these seemingly disconnected jottings.

We must first settle what *Mishle Kobsim* means. Now there is an uniform Greek tradition that a special class of fables called the Libyan were collected by a Libyan named Kybisas, Kybisios, or Kibysses. Diogenian (p. 180) says, οἱ δὲ Κύβισαν εὑρέτην γενέσθαι τοῦ εἴδους τούτου; Theon (ed. Walz., i. p. 17), καὶ Κύβισιος ἐκ Λιβύης μνημονεύεται ὑπό τινων ὡς μυθοποιός,* and Hesychius says of Λυβικοὶ λόγοι. Χαμαιλέων φησὶ Κιβυντὸν (*l.* Κιβυσίδην) εὑρεῖν τοὺς λόγους τούτους (*ap.* Hartung, *Babrios*, p. 176). Babrius himself in his second prologue couples him with Æsop:—

> πρῶτος δὲ, φασίν, εἶπε παισὶν Ἑλλήνων
> Αἴσωπος ὁ σοφός, εἶπε καὶ Λιβυστίνοις
> Λόγους Κιβύσσης.

The first, they say, (who) spoke (fables) to the sons of the Hellenes was Æsop the wise, and (the first who) spoke fables to the Libyans (was) Kibysses.

Now the slightest rounding of a corner of a letter, transforming *mem* (ם) into *samech* (ס), would change the inexplicable *Mishle Kobsim*,

* I owe these references to Mr. Rutherford, who, however, thinks them all due to an early misreading of Λιβυκός. This is out-Cobeting Cobet.

"fables of washermen," into *Mishle Kubsis*, "fables of Kybises," * and with the Greek tradition before us there can be little doubt that the change is justified, and that the Talmudic statement gives us evidence of the collection of Libyan fables by Kybises as late as 80 or 90 A.D., the period of R. Jochanan ben Saccai's chief activity.

After his time we hear no more of the *Mishle Kybises*, as we may now call them, and I think I can also suggest a reason for this. When R. Meir revived the study of fables a century later, he only knew of a collection of 300 *Mishle Shu'alim* (Fox-fables).† Now Crusius has rendered it probable that Babrius in the third century merely put into verse a collection of Greek fables made by Nicostratus in the first half of the second, and Gitlbauer's edition of Babrius has rendered it tolerably certain that the total

* Something like this suggestion was made by Roth in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1860, p. 55, but in an opposite direction, explaining Kybisses from *Kobsim!* It attracted however no notice from either Talmudic or classical scholars. Indeed its significance could not be seen till the dependence of the Talmudic fables on India had been established.

† They are only once more mentioned as being known to R. Simon bar Kappara (*Koh. rab.* i. 3), a pupil of R. Meir's.

number of Babrian versions, and therefore of Nicostratus' collection, was almost exactly 300. We can guess, too, from Babrius' statement given above that Nicostratus merely put together the collections of Demetrius and of Kybises, so that all Jewish students of Greek letters * would find would be Nicostratus' complete collection of 300 fables. And looking back at the statement which begins the Talmudic history of the fable, we can interpret more exactly the *Mishle Shu'alim* which R. Jochanan ben Saccai studied as well as the *Mishle Kybises*. This was in all probability Demetrius' collection, so that "Fox Fables" is the Hebrew equivalent for our Æsop's Fables.†

But though R. Jochanan may have known of the "Æsopic" collection, all our evidence goes to show that he used the other of Kybises exclusively, either because its Oriental tone attracted

* There were many such, though the practice was condemned (*cf.* M. Joel, *Blicke* i.). Of Elisha ben Abujah, the Faust of the Talmud, and R. Meir's teacher, it is even said that the words of Homer were never absent from his lips.

† The title recalls Aristophanes' coinage, ἀλωπεκίζειν ("to foxify," *Vesp.* 1240), which, as Mr. Rutherford remarks (p. xxxv.), calls up a whole series of adventures in apologue. *Cf.* the French proverb, *Avec un renard, on renarde. Mishle Shu'alim* was the title given by Berachyah Hanakdan to his collection of fables (*infra*, p. 168).

him, or, as is more likely, because it was the shorter and better suited for translation. For Phædrus' collection, and that of Demetrius, on which he founds, runs to over two hundred, and Nicostratus', which includes these and that of Kybises, only makes three hundred, leaving under a hundred for the "Libyan" collection. Now it is a remarkable coincidence that of the six classic fables found in the Talmud without Indian parallels (class 4 above) five are Babrian and not Phædrine, or, in other words, from the *Addenda* of Nicostratus, *i.e.*, from Kybises. And the sixth, if it be a reference to the *Jay in Peacock's feathers*, is in a form which, as we shall see (p. 165), indicates a different origin than Phædrus. This clinches the matter and enables us to identify nearly thirty fables (classes 1 to 4 above) as the "Libyan fables" of Kybises.

A careful comparison between Phædrus as we can restore him from his derivates and Babrius in Gitlbauer's edition would enable us to restore with some probability the contents of the lost Fables of Kybises.* I cannot afford space for such a comparison, but I would remark that Stainhöwel has already done part

* But see the reservation on p. 151.

of the work in his Æsop, and therefore in Caxton's, which we have before us. For after he had given the Romulus, which contains the nucleus of Phædrus-Demetrius, he selected from Remicius and Avian, which we have seen to be derived from Babrius, the fables which did not exist in the Phædrus. In other words, these two books of the Caxton represent the Libyan fables of Kybises just as the first four represent the Æsopian jests of the ancients.

I suspect that Avian has effected the same distinctions for us in his collection. In his preface he speaks of having before him both Phædrus and Babrius; yet as a matter of fact he seems to have conscientiously avoided repeating in Latin verse the fables that Phædrus had already given in Latin verse.* It is probable therefore that unconsciously to himself he was really giving for the most part a selection from the Libyan Fables of Kybises. It is at any rate remarkable what a large proportion of his

* The only exceptions are Av. 34=Ph. iv. 24, and Av. 37=Ph. iii. 7, in both cases with variations in the *dramatis personæ*. In this paragraph I refer to the complete Avian as edited by Mr. Ellis, by Arabic numerals, adding Roman numerals in brackets when they also occur in Steinhöwel's selection, and therefore in our Caxton.

fables have an Oriental tone. We have already seen this in the case of Av. 2 (ii.), 5 (iv.), 8 (vii.), 16 (Ro. IV. xx. but not from Phædrus), 33 (xxiv.), 36, 40 (=IV., II., XVI., XXII., XVII., VIII., X., XIII.), while 18 (xiv.), 19 (xv.), 24, 27 (xx.), 31 (xxiii.) occur as Talmudic parallels in classes 2, 4, and 5. Besides this, *The Swallow and Birds* (21, cf. Ro. I. xx.) and *The Avaricious and the Envious* (22, xvii.) occur in Cainozoic strata of the Bidpai (Benf. §§ 21, 112), the latter indeed, as we have seen, occurring in Capt. Temple's *Wideawake Stories* as a current Indian folk-tale; it does not occur in Babrius or Halm. I may add that *The Boy and Thief* (25, xviii.), is exactly of the type of Noodle stories found *ad nauseam* in Indian story-books (cf. Benf. § 146 and Mr. Clouston's *Book of Noodles*), while *The Sow and Lord* (30) has again the joke about want of *heart* (sense) which we have met with before in *The Ass' Heart* (XX.).* Besides these we have two fables about apes (14, xi.; 35, xxv.) and one of a tiger (17, xiii.), which are Indian, not Greek animals. There are also slight indications in

* But see Mr. Ellis' note on l. 14, showing that the Romans used *cor* in the same way.

the texts of Avian's originals which point to a "Libyan" or Indian original. In 2 (ii.) the Tortoise in the Babrius offers treasures of the Erythræan Sea for his aerial voyage. The Babrian original of *The Crow and Peacock* (15, xii.) begins Λίβυσσα γέραιος, and Ælian, in speaking of *The Crow and Pitcher* (27, xx.), which does not occur in Babrius or Halm, relates the anecdote of a Libyan crow. All this seems to indicate the Libyan (*i.e.*, Indian) origin of Avian, and enables us to identify at least those mentioned above as Libyan, and not Æsopic, Fables.* *

In making such a marked distinction between Æsopic and Libyan fable, I am but reverting to one which the ancients themselves emphasised throughout their treatment of the fable.† Æschylus prefaces his fable of *The Eagle* ‡ with the words—

Ὧδ' ἐστὶ, μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος.

* See the complete list drawn out on p. 153.

† There is a third class termed Sybaritic, Milesian, and Cyprian, but these refer not to Beast-fables but to broad jests of the kind that have been always associated with the fable. See *infra*, p. 203.

‡ Represented in English literature by Byron's lines:—

"So the struck eagle, stretch'd upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
View'd his own feather on the fatal dart,
And wing'd the shaft that quiver'd in his heart."

When Aristotle is discussing the use of the Fable in oratory (*Rhetoric*, ii. 20) he speaks of fables "whether of the Æsopic or Libyan kind." Babrius, as we have seen, speaks in one breath of Æsop for the Greeks, and Kibysses for the Libyans. The rhetoricians kept up this tradition to a very late date. And even Julian the Apostate, in his interesting Seventh Oration, devoted to the fable, retains the distinction. There was thus throughout Greek literature a conscious recognition that a certain number of fables were foreign importations, and these were labelled vaguely as "Libyan," a word that covered all dusky-skinned races. We are now in a position to interpret it as "Indian *viâ* Egypt."*

We can go even a step further, I think, and distinguish between two different streams of "Libyan" (Indian) influence reaching Hellas. If we examine the list of ancient Greek fables given pp. 26–28, we are now able to identify as "Libyan" *The Ass' Heart*, by Solon, *The Countryman and Snake* of Theognis, *The Eagle*

* There is an exact analogy for this kind of nomenclature in our own name for the figures we use. We call them "Arabic numerals;" the Arabs themselves spoke of them as "Indian signs."

hoist with his own Petard of Æschylus, *The Transformed Weasel* of Strattis, and *The Dog and Shadow* of Theognis. Now of these only the last is traceable to a Buddhistic Jātaka, and the difference here is great enough to suggest that it is from an Indian Beast-fable existing prior to Buddha, and adopted by him or his followers. There only remains *The Ass in Lion's Skin*, supposed to be referred to by Socrates when he says (*Cratyl.* 411A), "I must not quake now I have donned the lion's skin," which may, as Wagener suggests, only refer to the stage representations of Bacchus or Hercules. Socrates would scarcely write himself down an ass, and if the fable were referred to, the whole point of it, the betrayal by the bray, is omitted. With this exception then, if it be an exception, the earliest "Libyan" fables are non-Buddhistic. But later on there is much evidence showing that an infusion of Jātakas came to the Western world. In Avian (and therefore, if I am right, in the "Libyan" portion of Babrius) we have *The Ass in Lion's Skin*, *The Tortoise and Birds*, *The Goose with Golden Eggs*, and *The Proud Jackal* (40); in Babrius *The Asses and Pig* (*cf.* Av. 36); and in the Talmud *The Lion and*

Crane, The Bird and Waves, Fox and Fishes, and *Gellert*, the Buddhistic character of which I have shown. All these, on our hypothesis, come from the Libyan fables of Kybises, and it becomes therefore probable that that collection was mainly or largely identical with the Jātakas.

There is another curious piece of evidence which seems to show that the Jātaka stories reached the Hellenic world. Among the Buddhist Birth-Tales is one (tr. Rhys-Davids, pp. xiv.–vi.) in which a *Yakshini*, or female demon, seizes a child left by its mother for a moment and claims it as her own. The two claimants are brought before the future Buddha, who draws a line on the ground, orders the women to stand on each side of it and hold the child between them, one by the legs the other by the arms. Whichever of the two, he decides, shall drag the child over the line shall possess it. They begin hauling, but the infant cries, and the mother lets her child go rather than hurt it. Then the future Buddha knows who is the true mother, gives her the child, and makes the *Yakshini* confess her true nature, and that she had wanted the child to eat it

up. In short, we have the Judgment of Solomon attributed to Buddha. It is not impossible that the two may be connected. If the incident really occurred in Israel, as is possible, for it bears the stamp of Oriental* justice, it would be just the kind of story to be carried out to Ophir, which we now know to be Abhira at the mouth of the Indus, whence came the peacocks, monkeys, and almug trees—all with Indian names—to bedeck the court of Solomon (1 Kings x. 22).

M. Gaidoz, however, in an interesting set of papers in the variants of Solomon's Judgment (*Mélusine*, 1889), traces the Hebraic from the Indian form, basing his conclusion on the late date at which the Book of Kings was redacted, and I am inclined to agree with him, for the additional reason that I think it highly probable that another section of the Bible connected with Solomon's name is derived from an Indian

* A recent instance occurred in Persia during the absence of the Shah. A farmer complained that a soldier had eaten his melons without payment. "Which soldier?" asked the Shah's son, who was dispensing justice. The man was pointed out and denied it. "Rip him up," said the Persian prince, "and if it is found that he has been eating melons, you shall be paid, if not, woe betide you." Sure enough the soldier had been eating melons.

source. The following parallels will at least serve to render this probable :—

PROVERBS XXX.	RIG VEDA AND BIDPAI.
4. Who has gone up to heaven and come down?	Who knows or who here can declare
Who has gathered the wind in his fists?	Whence has sprung—whence this creation—
Who has bound up the waters in a garment?	From what this creation arose,
Who has established all the ends of the earth?	Whether any made it or not?
What is his name, and what his son's, if thou knowest?	He who in the highest heaven is its ruler,
	He verily knows, or even he knows not.
	(*Rig Veda*, x. 129 (Muir, *Sansk. Texts*, v. 356).)*
. . . . .	. . . . .
15. The horseleech has three daughters,† they say always, "Give, give."	
There are three things never sated,	
Yea, four that never say "Enough:"	
Sheol is never sated with dead,	Fire is never sated with fuel,
Nor the womb's gate with men,	Nor the streams with the ocean,
Earth never sated with water,	Nor the god of death with all creatures.
And fire says never "Enough."	Nor the bright-eyed one with men.
	Pants., I. str. 153 (also *Mahabh.* iv. 2227).‡
. . . . .	

* I owe the reference to Prof. Cheyne, *Job*, 152.

† From Bickell's reconstruction of the text.

‡ Prof. Graetz (*Gesch.* i. 348) notices the closeness of the parallel which, he agrees, argues borrowing from one side or the other. He decides for Jewish priority owing to the late date of the *Hitopadesa*, being unaware of the other parallels, and that it occurs in the Bidpai and the Mahabharata.

18. There be three things too wonderful for me.
Yea, four which I know not:
19. The way of an eagle in the air. . . .
The way of a ship through the sea.

. . . . . .

21. Under three things earth trembles,
And four it cannot bear:
22. Under a servant when master,
And a fool filled with meat,
23. Under an odious woman wedded,
And a handmaid heir to her mistress.

The path of ships across the sea,
The soaring eagle's flight
Varuna knows.
Rig Veda, cf. Muir's *Metr Trans.* 160.*

A bad woman wedded,
A friend that's false,
A servant become pert,
A house full of serpents,
Make life unsupportable.
Hitopadesa, ii. 7 (cf. *Pants.*, I. str. 472).

It is, to say the least, remarkable that all the Indian parallels that have been found to the Old Testament, so far as I am aware, should occur in this one chapter. The second parallel again is so close that, as Prof. Graetz admits, there must have been borrowing on one side or the other. The arrangement in fours, which is distinctive of this chapter, is, I may add, a common Indian literary artifice; I have counted no less than thirty instances among the strophes of the First Book of the *Pantschatantra*.†

* Quoted as a coincidence by Prof. Cheyne, *l.c.*

† Str. 3, 46, 72, 114, 115, 140, 141, 144, 153, 171, 172, 180, 188, 192, 253, 269, 301, 310, 312, 322, 335, 337, 385,

Considering that the chapter is, according to all critics, of very late origin, and the text itself attributes a foreign origin to it,* and that there is plenty of other evidence for foreign elements in the Old Testament,† it becomes highly probable that the Proverbs of Agur were derived from India *viâ* Arabia, and that we must allow for an earlier‡ as well as later "Libyan" influence on Hebrews, as we have seen reason to allow it for Greeks. And all this confirms the possibility that Solomon's Judgment is an adaptation of an Indian folk-tale to the Jewish monarch.

But be all this as it may, we have iconо-

386, 420, 425, 442, 467. Besides there are many triads (str. 51, 84, 113, 174, 234, 257, 263, 280, 292, 364, 449), in some cases beginning like "There are three that win earth's golden crown: the hero, the sage, and the courtier" (str. 51); "There are three things for which men wage war: land, friends, gold" (str. 257).

* "The words of Agur, the son of Jakeh of Massa," *i.e.*, an Arabian (*cf.* R.V. margin).

† There are Sanskrit words in Kings, Greek words in Daniel, Arabisms in Job, the scapegoat (Azazel) is a Persian importation, and Mr. Tyler has sought to prove with some plausibility traces of Epicureanism and Stoicism in Ecclesiastes.

‡ *The Two Pots* occur in *Ecclus.* xiii. 20; the reference to the Persian King in *The Tongue and Members* (*supra*, p. 85) seems to imply that it did not come from the *Mishle Kybsis.*

graphic evidence of an interesting kind, that the Judgment became known to the Greeks and Romans. By a remarkable coincidence, two ancient representations of the Judgment were found within two years. One brought to light by M. Longperier in 1880 was engraved on an agate that could be traced back to Bagdad *viâ* Bucharest; its age cannot, however, be decided with any great accuracy. But the other was found at Pompeii, and cannot, therefore, be later than 79 A.D. M. H. Gaidoz, who has figured the two in *Melusine* for 1889, comes to the conclusion that the Roman version is not derived from a Jewish or Christian source.* If so, it must have come from the Jātakas, and as we have seen other Jātakas which came to the Hellenic world in all probability in the collection of Kybises, this, too, may have been among them. I have found a slight piece of evidence from Rabbinic sources, which confirms this conclusion. The great difference between the Jewish and the Indian form of the story

* He leaves out of account, however, the fact that both representations have the bisection test as in the Jewish, and not the hauling, as in the Indian form. It is possible, however, that the latter is a tender Buddhistic softening of the original Indian folk-tale preserved in the Jewish legend.

is that in the latter the non-mother is a *Rishi* or demon. In commenting on the story, Rab, a teacher of the third century, declares that the mother's opponent was a demon (*cf.* Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* vi. p. xxxi.). Have we here another trace of the *Mishle Kubsis?* If so, it would be a further point towards the Buddhistic tone of Kybises' "Lybian Fables."

After all, it should not surprise us to find evidence of Buddhistic influence percolating into the Greco-Roman world. A movement which disturbs to its depths a whole ocean of human feeling will naturally radiate its influence, if only in ripples, to all parts in continuity with it. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the insidious spread of Buddhistic tales is that I have already called attention to among the Negroes of the Southern States.* In *Uncle Remus* I pointed out the identification of the central story of the collection, *The Tar-Baby* with the Jātaka of the *Demon with the Matted Hair*, and the situation is so remarkable and the resemblance so striking that the identification seems to have been generally accepted. Yet this would seem to identify

* Introd. to *Bidpai*, pp. xliv.-vi., cf. *supra*, p. 113 *n.*

Brer Rabbit, the hero of the collection, with Buddha himself. I have found a remarkable corroboration of this incarnation in Mr. Harris' sequel, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, which appeared this year. Not to speak of several close parallelisms with Indian * Tales, there is one whole chapter (xxx.) devoted to *Brer Babbit and his famous Foot*, its mystical and magical virtues as a fetish. I need scarcely remind the reader of the enormous development of the worship of Buddha's Foot in later Buddhism, and there can be little doubt that the South Carolina negroes still retain a "survival" of this.† And if Buddhistic influences have thus spread from India through Africa to America, we can more easily understand the shorter and quicker transit from India to Egypt or Rome.

There are certain indications apart from our Lybian Fables which speak for a spread of Buddhistic thought in the Greek-speaking

* Some of these are allied to our *Fabulæ Extravagantes*. See Parallels Ex. V. iii. iv. xvi. We can trace the first of these in Africa (Bleek, *Reincke Fuchs in Africa*, p. 23).

† But compare Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 154, for something similar in Northamptonshire. Mr. Clodd has a bibliographical note on "The Hare in African Folk-Lore" in *F.-L.J.* vii. 23.

world. There is much in Pythagoreanism in the later stages leading on to Neo-Pythagoreanism which has affinity with the Buddhistic system (cf. Zeller, *Phil d. Griech.* iii. *b.* 67). There is much too in the mysterious sect of the Essenes, their monastic organisation, celibacy, vegetarianism, and abstinence from wine, which smacks of Buddhistic influence.* Again, the degradation in the status of women due to early Christianity, to which Dr. Donaldson has recently called attention (*Contemp. Rev.* Sept. 1889), is neither Jewish nor properly Christian, *i.e.*, personal to Christ, but is distinctively and characteristically Buddhistic. All these chime in with our Fables in making for some incursion of Buddhistic ideas in the Greek-speaking world about the beginning of the Christian era.

This makes it of some theological importance to determine the date of the introduction of the Fables of Kybises. For this purpose it will be necessary to examine somewhat closely

* This is, however, denied by Bishop Lightfoot (*Colossians*, 395) as part of a general apologetic argument against writers like Hilgenfeld, who go too far in attempting to prove derivation from Buddhism instead of mere influence by it.

the Oriental portions of Phædrus on similar lines to those we adopted in dealing with Avian. We may as well deal with all Phædrus that is extant (82 of the Vulgate, 30 of the *Appendix*, and 54 additional in the Romulus, Rufus, and Ademar, 166 in all), so as to complete a provisional determination of the Indian elements in Latin Fable.* We have seen above reason to include in these Ph. I. i. (V.), iii. (XI.), iv. (III.), viii. (I.), xiii. (VII.), xx. (XII). III. xviii. (XI.), xix. (XV)., IV. xxiii. (XXIII.), V. iii. (VI.), iv. (X.), and in the mediæval prose versions Ro. I. xiv. (IV.), xxiii. (XIX.), II. x. (XXI.), and *The Fox, Cat and Dog*.† (XIV.), *Ruf.* V. ix. (XXIII.). Besides this their presence in the Talmud vouches for the Oriental origin of Ph. II. ii., Ro. I. iii., III. xiv.‡ Then there are a number in which occur Indian animals—

* The reader will do well here also to compare the Table on p. 153.

† In the *Romulus* used by Stainhöwel this was IV. 18, as we know from his table of contents. He transferred it to the end of the book after his selection from Poggio; hence with us it is Pog. vii.

‡ It is just possible that these may be a survival of the *Mishle Shu'alim*, which we saw reason to identify with Æsop's Fables pure and simple, that is, Demetrius' collection, the original of Phædrus. *Cf. supra*, p. 123.

ape (Ph. I. x., III. iv., *App.* i., Ro. IV. viii., Adem. 8),* peacock (Ph. I. iii., III. xviii.), crocodile (Ph. I. xxv.), and panther (Ph. III. ii.). We may add to these four others which occur in later Oriental sources, and at the same time do not occur in the mediæval collection of Marie de France.† These are *The Fox and Stork* (Ph. I. xxvi., Ro. II. xiii.), *Fox and Grapes* (Ph. IV. iii., Ro. IV. i.), *Bat, Birds, and Beasts* (Ro. III. iv.), and *Fox and Wolf* Ro. III. vi.). Finally we may add a group of tales which are not Beast-Fables at all, but which are found in the East; their presence among the Phædrine Fables can scarcely indeed be explained, except on the theory that they were in the Oriental book whence his Indian Fables were taken. These are *The Man and Two Wives* (Ph. II. ii., Re. xvi.), *Androclus* (Ro. III. i.), *The Ephesian Widow* (Ro. III. ix.), and *Mercury and the Two Women* (App. 3). The last is a variant of *The Three Wishes*, on which

* At the same time it is worth remembering that one of the earliest Greek fables, that of Archilochus, has an Ape for a hero (*supra*, p. 26).

† The reader will learn the reason for this restriction later. It did not apply to Avian, owing to the general probability of the majority of his collection being Oriental.

Mr. Andrew Lang has a learned and chatty but somewhat inconclusive monograph in his *Perrault*, xlii.–li. The Phædrine form, though the earliest, is not mentioned by Mr. Lang, and we may therefore give it in outline. Two women entertain Mercury unawares and rather shabbily, one a young mother with a baby in the cradle, the other a lady of the same profession as Æsop's fellow-slave, Rhodopis. On leaving the deity manifests himself, and grants them each a wish. The mother wishes that she may see her first-born when he has a beard, the other that whatever she touches may follow her. Soon the mother finds her cradled babe embellished with a beard, while her friend in raising her hand to wipe away the tears her laughter had produced, finds her nose following her hand, and on this effective situation the scene closes. We shall see later on a further stage of this story.

Let us now compare this analysis of the Oriental elements of Phædrus with our former one of Avian. In the first place the number of these elements, though seemingly greater, is proportionably less. We found reason for tracing to the East some 20 of Avian's 42

fables, whereas the 166 extant fables of Phædrus, almost exactly four times as many, yield us only 36 parallels, some fifth against Avian's half. Then again, the proportion of the parallels which we have included on general and therefore very precarious grounds, is very large, 12 out of the 36. The parallelisms too are not so close as in the case of Avian (*e.g.*, *The Ass in Lion's Skin*, *Oak and Reed*, *Camel asking for Horns*). Even where the action is similar, the *dramatis personæ* vary; the elephant becomes a lion (XIX.), the lion a wolf (I.), dogs take the place of crows (XII.), the mouse-maiden becomes a vixen (XXIII.). The analogies with the Talmud which, we saw reason to think, preserves the Kybissean Fables with greatest accuracy, are few and far between. Altogether the Phædrine analogies strike one as fainter echoes of the Lybian fables than the Talmudic or Avianian forms, for which we have a certain amount of warrant that they came from the collection associated with the name of Kybises. To sum up, so far as we can draw conclusions from such uncertain materials, it seems tolerably certain that Phædrus was unacquainted with the Kybissean fables,

and that his Oriental elements represent the earlier stratum of Lybian fables current among the Greeks. Indeed, we know this to be the case with *The Countryman and Snake*, *The Dog and Shadow*, and *The Vixen-Maiden* (see p. 28). Altogether, our former conclusion that Phædrus merely translated Demetrius, receives further confirmation from our examination of his Oriental elements.* If we are to seek for a definite source for Phædrus' Oriental elements, the only hint I can find is in his lines (III. Prol. 52)—

> si Phryx Æsopus potuit, si Anacharsis Scytha
> æternam famam condere ingenio suo

where Anacharsis "the Scythian," almost as vague a term as Lybian, is coupled with Æsop, just as Babrius, 200 years later, couples Kybises with him. But I can find no other record of a tradition connecting Anacharsis with the his-

* The reader will have observed that throughout this investigation I am assuming that neither Phædrus, Babrius, nor Avian made any original contribution to the Fable. I think this is justified, (1) because they were chiefly occupied with translating and versifying, (2) we can trace every one of the 241 fables of Lafontaine, who had more original genius than all three together, (3) what they did add was by way of anecdote, not of fable (*e.g.*, Ph. I. xiv., II. v., III. xi.; *App.* viii.; Avian, 10). Cf. Riese, p. iv.[b].

tory of the fable, and for the present we may content ourselves with the negative statement that Phædrus' Oriental fables were not derived from the collection associated with the name of Kybises.

What follows? This at least that we are able to fix the introduction of the Fables of Kybises within a very few years. Phædrus was writing after the fall of Sejanus (A.D. 31), and R. Jochanan b. Saccai was studying the Fables of Kybises about 80 A.D. They must therefore have been introduced in the intervening half century. If so, we can give a pretty shrewd guess as to the conduit-pipe by which they reached the western world.* About the year 50 A.D. a freedman of Annius Plocanus, sailing in the Erythræan Sea, was caught by the monsoon, and carried out to Hipporus, a port of Ceylon, one of the many claimants for identification with Solomon's Ophir. Here he was taken captive, but was kindly treated, and learnt the language. His accounts of the great-

* Mr. C. Priaulx collected all that is known, or can be conjectured, about the direct communications between India and Rome, from Augustus to Justinian, in his *Indian Travels of Apollonius, &c.* (Lond. 1873). I take my facts from him, pp. 91–8.

ness of Rome impressed the King, Chandra Muka Siwa († 52 A.D.), so much, that he determined to send an embassy thither. Accordingly he sent one Rachias, probably a Prince Royal (*Rajan*), and three other nobles, who, accompanied by Plocanus' freedman, reached Rome in safety, and interviewed the Emperor Claudius († 54 A.D.) It was from them that Pliny obtained his account of Taprobane (Ceylon), and there can be little doubt that it was from one of them, or their retinue, that the Fables of Kybises were procured. We could not desire a more appropriate origin than Ceylon for a collection of tales related to the Jātakas, which have themselves come from Ceylon in these later days.

I say, "related to the Jātakas," for it now seems time to point out that the Fables of Kybises, or the forty or so of them that we can identify in the Talmud and Avian, could not have been any edition of the Jātakas. For only about a dozen of those forty can be identified with Jātakas (or, at least, with those accessible in translations). Besides this, it is difficult to see how any form of the Jātakas could become connected with a name like that of Kybises. What we want is a collection of

fables connected with some such name, and containing others besides those contained in the Jātakas. I may add that a similar collection is also required to explain the existence of Jātaka elements in the Bidpai. A careful scrutiny of the Jātakas has, I think, put me on the track of what we want. "Quand on cite," says M. Leon Feer, one of the greatest authorities on the Jātakas, "quand le Jātaka pali cite un Buddha, c'est ordinairement Kâçyapa, le prédécesseur de Çakyamuni" (*Journ. Asiat.*, 8e série, t. iv. p. 308). Kâsyapa was the twenty-seventh of the twenty-seven Buddhas that had preceded Sakyamuni, was therefore the latest and the one most likely to have some historical reality. Of him it is said (*Nidānakathā*, str. 246, tr. Rhys-Davids, p. 51), "The birthplace of the Blessed One was called Benāres, Brahmadatta the Brahman was his father, . . . and the Nigrodha-tree his Bo-tree. His body was twenty cubits high, and his age was twenty thousand years." Now it is a remarkable circumstance that all the Jātakas I have seen, which have analogy with classical or Talmudic fables, are ushered in as regards the "Story of the Past" by the words, "Once on a time

when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares." Of the fifty-six Jātakas contained in Mr. Rhys-Davids' book, and in the *Jour. Ceyl. Asiat. Soc.*, viii., no less than thirty-seven thus begin, twenty-four of which are beast-fables.* It looks very much like as if these (with possibly others) existed in a separate collection under some such title as *Itiahâsa Kâsyapa*, "thus spake Kâsyapa," and that the Buddhist compiler had calmly appropriated them on the plea that the said sage was merely one of the previous incarnations of the Buddha.† Now, from the way in which Babrius speaks of Kybises, it is clear that he was regarded as the father of the Lybian fable, just as Æsop was of the purely Greek fable. It does not seem too hazardous to identify the Lybian sage Kybises of the Greeks with the Indian sage Kasyapa, from whom the Buddhists took the majority of their fables, on the plea that he was a pre-incarna-

* There are a couple of examples, *supra* I. and X. The painstaking M. Feer, I observe, has counted 372 instances out of the 547 Jātakas where Benares is the locality of the Story of the Past (*JA.* 1873, p. 547).

† It is as if the later Pythagoreans had assumed that the soul of Æsop had transmigrated into that of Pythagoras, and incorporated our fables in the Pythagorean scriptures, if there had been any.

tion of Buddha. If I were a German *privat docent* I might perhaps go a step further and, remarking that K is sometimes dropped in Aryan roots * especially when they are loan-words,† I might suggest that Kâsyapa and the un-Greek Αἴσωπος are not unrelated. But just at present we have perhaps balanced enough of theory on the corner of a letter in the Talmud, and I will therefore make the suggestion a present to any young German scholar who desires to be "extraordinary."

All this evidence renders it worth while considering a suggestion which I already made in the Introduction to *Bidpai* (p. xlviii.) on *à priori* grounds. The fable is a species of the Allegory ‡ and it seems absurd to give your Allegory, and then give in addition the truth which you wish to convey. Either your fable makes its point or it does not? If it does, you need not repeat your point: if it does not, you need not give your fable. To add your point is practically to confess the fear that your

* The Latin *amor* is from √ KAM, our *it* from √ KI.

† Our *ape* (Germ. *Affe*) is from the Sanskt. *Kapi*, the word from which the Heb. *Koph* is also derived (1 Kings x. 22).

‡ The morals of fables are called Ἀλληγόριαι in Romaic.

fable has not put it with sufficient force.* Yet this is practically what the Moral does, which has now become part and parcel of a Fable. It was not always so, it does not occur in the ancient classical fables. That it is not an organic part of the fable is shown by the curious fact that so many morals miss the point of the fables.† How then did this artificial product come to be regarded as an essential part of the fable? Now, we have seen in the Jātakas, what an important *rôle* is played by the *gāthas* or moral verses which sum up the whole teaching of the Jātakas. In most cases I have been able to give the pith of the Birth-stories by merely giving the *gathas*, which are besides the only relics which are now left to us of the original form of the Jātakas. Is it too bold to suggest that any set of fables taken from the Jātakas or their source would adopt the *gātha* feature, and

* This is the weakness of George Eliot's art, especially in her later manner.

† I am afraid I must report that Mr. Walter Crane has very bad morals, at least in his *Baby's Own Æsop*. "Small causes may produce great results" is his comment on *The Lion and the Mouse*; "Our friend, our enemy," his enigmatic explanation of *The Two Pots*; "Watch on all sides," his summary of *The Blind Doe*, rather cruel advice to a one-eyed animal.

that the Moral would naturally arise in this way? We find the Moral fully developed in Babrius * and Avian, whom we have seen strong reason for connecting with Kybises' Libyan fables. We may conclude the series of conjectures on which we have been engaged for the past few pages, by suggesting that the Morals of fables are an imitation of the *gāthas* of Jātakas as they passed into the Libyan collection of Kybises.

Meanwhile let us estimate how far our discoveries, if discoveries they are, will aid us in the specific task on which we are engaged in this section, to determine which of the Oriental LXX. of our collection (*supra*, p. 44) can be traced back to India. Theoretically, on the lines laid down above, every additional fable in Babrius or his derivates that cannot be traced to Phædrus should come from the "Libyan" collection of Kybises. But we do not know the full contents of Phædrus, though we can calculate its extent tolerably accurately at 200 mem-

* I am aware that Mr. Rutherford rejects all the morals of Babrius on account of their ineptitude. It is the chief weakness of the school of Cobet to obelise passages on subjective grounds. It is obviously more difficult to point a moral than adorn a tale, and we ought to expect a falling off in the moral.

bers.* Of these we are ignorant of the subjects of some fifty numbers, and we cannot tell of any Babrian fable that it was not among these. Besides which we cannot be certain that the collection of Kybises was not interpolated at Alexandria as we know that of Demetrius to have been. Altogether we can only be absolutely certain of the Indian origin of any of the exclusively Babrian fables when we can give chapter and verse for its actual existence in India, and as a rule I should require chapter and verse of a date anterior to the Christian era. I think, however, we may waive this requirement in the case of fables which can only be found late in India, but are found in the Talmud (our second class *supra*, p. 111), or even those that are found only in the Talmud (class 4). Besides these, however, there are a certain number of fables that through glaring inconsistencies, or their familiar reference to Indian animals, argue an

* This calculation is M. Gaston Paris' (*Journ. des Savants*). We can trace 57 of the prose versions among 127 of the extant metrical ones; therefore the remaining 39 which cannot be so traced will allow for some 87 additional metrical fables no longer extant, the subjects of 48 of which are therefore no longer to be ascertained.

Indian origin when taken in conjunction with the rest. Altogether we have been able to make a provisional determination of the Oriental elements in Latin fable, and have summed up our results on the next page in such a way as to indicate the amount of evidence for each.* Out of the 208 fables composing it (166 Phædrus, 42 Avian) 56 are there traced with more or less plausibility to India, and of these 45 occur in our Caxton, but only 25 out of the Oriental LXX. which formed the starting point of our inquiry (*supra*, p. 44).

Of the remaining forty-five for which we have Oriental parallels, which are either slight or late, we cannot in any specific case be certain of an Indian origin, as they may have got to India by the mediation of Islam, which had contact with both the Hellenic and the Indian world.† As soon as the Prophet's creed had

* I must reserve the more intricate and delicate task of determining the Indian elements in Greek fable for another occasion. The Caxton and the European Æsop generally is more directly derived from Latin than from Greek fable.

† I must confess I do not see much evidence for an earlier and direct influence of Hellenic on Indian fable, on which Weber and Benfey lay so much stress. See, however, Sir W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*, c. vi. for Greek influence on North-West Indian art.

INDIAN ELEMENTS IN LATIN FABLE.

PHAEDRUS (*cf.* pp. 239-40).

I. i. Wolf and Lamb (Ro. i. 2, V.)*
iii. Jay in Peacock's Feathers (ii. 15, XI.)
iv. Dog and Shadow (i. 5, III.)
v. Lion's Share (i. 6)
viii. Wolf and Crane (i. 8, I., T.)
x. Wolf, Fox, and Ape (ii. 18)
xi. Ass and Lion hunting (iv. 10)
xiii. Fox and Crow (i. 16, VII.)
xx. Dogs and Hide (XII.)
xxv. Dogs and Crocodile.
xxvi. Fox and Stork (ii. 13, Bc.)
II. ii. Man and Two Wives (Ro. xvi. T.)
III. ii. Panther and Shepherds (iv. 3)
iv. Butcher and Ape.
xviii. Juno and Peacock (iv. 4, XI.)
xix. Countryman and Snake (i. 28, XV.)
IV. iii. Fox and Grapes (iv. 1, Bc.)
xxiii. Mountain in labour (ii. 5, XXIII.)
V. iii. Bald man and Fly (ii. 11, VI.)
iv. Ass and suckling Pig (X.)

Appendix.

App. 1. Ape and Fox (iii. 27)
3. Mercury and Two Women (Bc.)
13. Ephesian Widow (iii. 9, T. ?)

Romulus.

Ro. i. 3. Eat and Frog (Bc., T.)
14. Eagle and Raven (IV.)
23. Lion and Mouse (XIX.)
Ro. ii. 16. Countryman and Snake (XX.)
iii. 1. Androclus (Bc.)
4. Bat, Birds, Beasts (Bc.)
6. Fox and Wolf (Bc.)
14. Man, Axe, and Wood (Bc., T.)
iv. 8. King of Apes.
(18.) Cat, Fox, and Dog (*Pog.* vii. XIV.)

Rufus.

v. 9. Vixen-Maiden (XXIII.)

Adespar.

8. Snail and She-Ape.

AVIAN (*cf.* p. 126).

2. Tortoise and Eagle (ii. IV.)
5. Ass in Lion's Skin (iv. II.)
8. Camel asking for Horns (vii. XVII., T.)
11. Two Pots (ix. XXII. T.)
14. Ape-mother (xi.)
15. Crane and Peacock (xii. XI.)
16. Oak and Reed (Ro. iv. 20, XVI., T.)
17. Hunter and Tiger (xiii.)
18. Four Oxen and Lion (xiv. T. ?)
19. Fir and Bramble (xv. T.)
21. Swallow and Birds (Ro. i. 20, Bc. T.)
22. Avaricious and Envious (xvii. Bc.)
24. Hunter and Lion (Bc. T.)
25. Boy and Thief (xviii.)
27. Crow and Pitcher (xx. T.)
30. Sow and Lord (XXI. T.)
31. Mouse and Ox (xxiii. T.)
33. Goose with Golden Eggs (xxiv., VIII.)
38. Ape and Twins (xxv.)
36. Ox and Heifer (X. T.)
40. Leopard and Fox (XIII. T.)

* References in brackets are to the corresponding fables in Caxton; the large Roman numerals and letters to the Indian and Talmudic evidence *supra*, pp. 54-116. I.-XV. Jātakas; XV.-XVIII. Mahābharata; XIX.-XXIII. Hitopal; Bc. additions to Hitopal; T. Talmud and Midrash.

been spread from India to Spain, the conquerors laid down the sword and took up the pen. In search of models they turned to Greece, and chiefly by means of Syrians had the literary treasures of Hellas made accessible to them in Arabic versions of Syriac translations of the chief Greek authors in science and philosophy. Was Æsop also included among these? That is the question we must set ourselves to answer as we turn our backs on India and cry, Westward Ho!

Earlier investigators into the history of the Æsopic Fable were led off the trail for a while by a collection of Arabic fables, mostly identical with the Æsopic, and attributed to the sage Lôqman, who gives a title to a *Sura* of the Koran (S. 31 of the vulgate, 82 of Nöldeke-Rodwell).* We now know that the fables are late, and derived from the Greek. Dr. Lands-

* Sir R. F. Burton has collected the Arabic learning on Lôqman in his *Nights* (Lady Burton's edition, vi. p. 260). M. Derenbourg in the Preface to his edition (Berlin, 1858) gives reasons for considering him a doublet of Balaam, and the book attributed to him as the work of a Christian of the thirteenth century. The identification, I may add, is rendered certain by Petrus Alphonsus (ii. 7), "Balaam qui linguâ Arabica vocatur *Lucaniam*," which Schmidt did not understand, but is clearly a misreading for "Lucman."

berger, some thirty years ago, unearthed a series of sixty-seven fables in Syriac,* which had clearly intimate relation with our Lôqman, since thirty-nine out of the forty-one Arabic fables are identical with the Syriac. Dr. Landsberger attempted to found upon them an utterly untenable theory of the Judaic origin of the Beast-Fable (*Die Fabeln des Sophos*, 1859), but critical investigation showed that they were a late translation from the Greek.† Indeed fifty-one of the fables are identical with that number out of a collection of sixty-two Greek fables attributed to a Persian sage, Syntipas, and published by Matthai a Moscow professor at the end of last century (1781). This collection has never yet been adequately examined so as to definitely settle its *provenance*.‡ It is probable enough that some of the fables of Syntipas are Oriental ones that had perco-

* Or rather Judæo-Syriac, since they were found written in Hebrew characters and were printed first as Chaldaic (*Chofes Matmonim*, 1844).

† The late Prof. Wright dates them as the eleventh century (art. "Syriac" in *Encyc. Brit.*), and mentions that the name Sophos is found as Isophos and Josephus in other MSS., showing its identity with Æsop.

‡ Eberhard gives an edition of the text in his *Fabulæ græcæ romanenses* I. (Teubner, 1876).

lated into the Lower Greek Empire. But the majority are a redressing of the ordinary Æsop (*i.e.* of Babrius), and the eighty fables contained in the Syntipas-Sophos-Lôqman* cannot be used as independent witnesses for the Oriental origin of any of our fables, while the Lôqman collection may account for the presence in India of certain of Æsop's fables at a late date.

I have, however, come across traces of another Arabic Æsop, which would probably account for even more, as it is four times as large as the Lôqman. In the India Office Library there is, or was, a Karshuñic MS. (Loth. *Cat. Arab. MSS. India Off.*, 1049), *i.e.*, Arabic written in Syriac characters, containing no less than 164 fables. The character in which it is written implies that the Arabic fables were translated from the Syriac, the ordinary course from the Greek, and the large number of fables proves that it is different from the collection associated with the

* I have not gone minutely into the matter, but I fancy that the Armenian fabulist Vartan derives from the same source. It is possible too, I think, that the tetrastichs of Ignatius (*supra*, p. 24) were derived from a selection from Babrius, which was the parent of the whole school.

name of Lôqman. Unfortunately the MS. has been mislaid, and I cannot therefore use it for the purposes of the present inquiry.* There is, however, other evidence of an Arabic Æsop larger than the Lôqman. In the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris there is a collection of 144 "Fables of Æsop" in Arabic (MS. Arabe Suppt. 1644).† Altogether there is strong evidence of a large body of Æsopic fables derived from the Greek passing current in the Arabic-speaking world, and so reaching India and affording the late parallels occurring in the Cainozoic stratum of the Bidpai and in the later sources (*supra*, pp. 49, 51). Till we arrive at earlier evidence, these cannot be used as proving the

* Of course I may be mistaking an *ignotum pro magnifico* in attributing so much importance to this MS. But the mere chance of its crucial importance for the mediæval history of the Fable should cause it to be diligently searched for. Survivals of the Syriac original may exist in Rödiger's *Chrest. Syriaca*, 1870.

† See Appendix, which I owe to my friend Dr. R. Gottheil, who kindly undertook to search for an Arabic Æsop among the Oriental collections he was visiting in Europe. There are also fables, he informs us, in MSS. suppt. 1647, 1739, and 2197. He refers me likewise to Pertsch, Catalogue of the Gotha Oriental MSS. IV. 447, which is not accessible to me. We clearly need an article on the Arabic Æsop similar to that of Dr. Klamroth's "Ueber den arabischen Euclid," ZDMG., 1881, 270-326.

Oriental origin of any of the Greco-Roman fables, which are probably their parents or cousins rather than their children.

But though the larger Arabic Æsop of which I have found traces cannot throw light on the Æsop of antiquity it may serve to elucidate, as we shall soon see, certain obscure points in the mediæval Æsop. For besides the fables current in antiquity we find in the mediæval collections a set which cannot be traced back to the Greco-Roman world. For their peculiarities we have to take a sudden leap from Arabia to England, and henceforth study

IV. ÆSOP IN ENGLAND.

Ysopet apelluns ce livre
Qui[l] traveilla e mut escrive
De Grieu en Latin le turna.
Al reis Alvrez qui mult l'ama
Le translata puis en engleis
E jo l'ai rimé en franceis.
—MARIE DE FRANCE, *Fables*, Epil. vv. 13–18.

THE formula with which we started these investigations was, "Our Æsop is Phædrus with trimmings." We have now seen the nature and source of some of these accessories. The sixth and seventh sections of the Caxton connected with the names of Remicius and

Avian have turned out to be ultimately derived from Babrius, and we have seen reason to trace them further back to the "Lybian" fables of Kybises. There still remains the fifth book of our collection to be accounted for—the Comet Fables, *Fabulæ extravagantes*, as Stainhöwel called them. These differ much in character and style from those we have previously been considering. They are much longer, to begin with; they are filled with elaborate conversations between the beasts. Again, though custom has attached a moral to them, they do not seem primarily intended to point one. They belong rather to the Beast-Tale or Beast-Satire than to the Beast-Fable proper. Their nearest analogue in literature is the so-called Beast-Epic of Reynard the Fox. This diversity in style by itself argues a difference of origin for this part of our collection. They represent, we may say at once, the mediæval additions to Æsop which are associated with the name of Marie de France.

This lady is one of the most striking figures in Middle English literature. Her linguistic ability would by itself stamp her as no ordinary figure. All three works of her are trans-

lations into French of the Anglo-Norman dialect. One is from a Latin account of *The Purgatory of St. Patrick*. Another is a version of some Breton *Lais*, some of the weirdest things in mediæval literature.* Her third and most extensive work is a collection of 103 (106) Fables, which she declares she translated from the English of King Alfred, in the lines I have quoted at the head of this section.† Let us first examine into the truth of this statement.

We cannot do better than put ourselves in the hands of Herr Mall, who has concentrated his energies on Marie de France for the last quarter of a century, and has recently summed up the results of his labours.‡ He has first to

* These have recently been edited admirably by Warncke, with variants by R. Köhler. Ellis gives an abstract of them in his *Metrical Romances*, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy Englished a few in his *Lays of France*.

† They are given in the text of Herr Mall. The first and as yet only edition of Marie's Fables was by Roquefort, in 1820. The above lines, however, had been early quoted from MS. sources, and are given in Howell's *Letters*. (See my edition, p. 592 and note.) There is no doubt about the reading "Alvrez," though earlier corruptions changed it at times to "Henris," whence our Fables have been attributed to Henry I. and Henry II.

‡ "Zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Fabelliteratur," in *Ztsft f. rom. Phil.* ix. 161-263. This supersedes his earlier dissertation *De Mariæ ætate*, &c. (Halle, 1867).

discuss the claims of a set of Latin Fables found in three MSS. at London, Brussels, and Göttingen (hence termed by him the LBG fables), which certainly contain the additional fables found in Marie de France, and have accordingly been termed the "Romulus of Marie," by M. Hervieux, while Oesterley printed them as an Appendix to his edition of Romulus. Herr Mall points out first, by one of these pieces of minute analysis in which German scholars delight,* that the order of the fables has been disturbed by the transposition of certain leaves in the fable of *The Belly and Members*, which begins in No. 33 and finishes in No. 73. He is thus enabled to ascertain that the LBG consists of three parts—(1) 45 fables selected from the Romulus of Nilant; (2) a selection of 15 fables from the ordinary Romulus, at the end of which comes the announcement *quod sequitur addidit rex Affras*, which refers to (3) 74 additional fables, most of which are to be found in Marie. Are these from the Latin original of Marie? is

* The most striking instance I can recall is the manner in which Lachmann determined the extent, the missing, mutilated and blank leaves, and the average number of lines on a page of the lost archetype of Lucretius. Cf. Munro's *Lucretius*, i. 26-8.]

the further question to be settled by Herr Mall. He decides in the negative, by pointing out that in the LBG version of the *Mouse Maiden* (evidently derived from the Bidpai, I may parenthetically observe, cf. *supra*, p. 98), the mouse after all her travels in search for a husband, comes at last to marry a mule! an evident mistranslation of Marie's *mulet*, archaic French for mouse. In other words, the set of Fables whose trade-mark is LBG is a translation from Marie, and not *vice versâ*.

We have accordingly to turn to Marie herself for a solution of the true origin of her fables, whether from a Latin or an English source, and in the latter case whether this was really one of King Alfred's literary gifts to England. Previous inquirers had pointed to the existence of English forms in Marie's French—*wibet* (56 l. 27, "gnat"), which Wace expressly mentions as an English word (*Rom. du Rou*, 8164), *widecoc* (*huitecox*, 24 l. 20, cf. A. Lang, *Perrault*, p. xlix., "woodcock") and *welke* (13 l.), which is no less than our humble "whelk."* But, as Herr Mall points out, these words may have

* To these I would add the still more striking example of *hus*, our "house," used by Marie for "door" (63 l. 87).

formed part of the ordinary Anglo-Norman vocabulary, and may therefore have been still used by Marie, though translating from the Latin. He has sought, therefore, for a mistranslation or misapplication of an English word similar to that which enabled him to determine the origin of "LBG." He finds it in Marie's word *sepande*, which does him yeoman's service. She uses it three times (31 l. 34, 65 l. 10, 97 l. 7), and in each case later copyists have not been able to make anything of the word for which they have substituted *Nature*, or *Destinée*, or *Deuesse*. This clearly un-French word, which even Marie could not make out, is no other than the Old English participial form *sceppend*, "shaper" or "creator," corresponding to the familiar German word *Schöpfer*. Herr Mall deduces from it not only that Marie did use an English original, as she states, but also that it could not have been in Anglo-Saxon or from the hand of King Alfred (though the Latin author, he adds, was probably named Alfred, which would account for the mistake). The omission of the *c* in *sepande* proves that it was a Middle English, not an Anglo-Saxon

form in the original.* Finally, Herr Mall fancies he has come across a trace of the Middle English original in a couple of lines quoted in Wright's *Latin Stories*, 52—

"Of aye ich the brouȝte
Of athele ich ne miȝte,"

which are sufficiently close to serve for the original of Marie's

"De l'oef les poi jo bien geter . . .
Mais nient fors de lur nature,"†

On Marie's epoch Herr Mall has at present nothing definite to say, except that the *Purgatory of St. Patrick* which she translated is later than 1198. As her *Lais* reached Iceland about 1245, this fixes her *floruit* in the earlier half of the thirteenth century.

So far Herr Mall, who, instructive as he is, leaves us still in the dark as to the *provenance* of the sixty-six or so new fables with

* I would add that both *widecoc* and *welke* are nearer the Middle English than the West-Saxon forms, *widucoc* and *weoluc*.

† There is probably, I would suggest, a still longer survival in the Middle English version of the *Wolf Learning to Read* given by Douce, *Illustrations to Shakespeare*, 525, according to Du Méril, 156; I cannot find it.

which Marie's name is connected. Taking up the inquiry at this point, I would first inquire whether, as we have seen Marie at least half-right in attributing her fables to an English version of (King) Alfred, she may not be as much in the right in tracing them to a Greek source. It is indeed unusual for a mediæval writer to connect the name of Æsop with Greek at all, as he was regarded as a Latin poet even as late as 1485 (Du Méril, 91, 163). Again, at times where she has the same fable as the Romulus and the Greek versions she is nearer the Greek form. Herr Fuchs, who has written an elaborate monograph on *The Daw in Peacock's Feathers*,* has observed that Marie (58) has a raven for her hero, who competes for the crown of beauty of the birds, as in the Greek, instead of a Jay as in the Latin Æsop (cf. *supra*, p. 124). Du Méril (*Poésies inédites*, 1854, p. 158) points out that in Marie's version of *The Dog and Shadow*, her dog passes across a bridge † and carries cheese, instead of swimming in the stream and holding meat as in Phædrus, while

* *Die Krähe die mit fremden Federn sich schmückt.* Berlin (Dissert.) 1886.

† This trait has passed from her into the modern traditional versions.

she has a curious variant (11) of *The Lion's Share*, in which the lion's partners are carnivorous, as is natural, instead of Phædrus' cow, goat and sheep, as is absurd.* In this the Æsop of Alfred, as we now may call her original, comes nearer to the Greek (Halm, 260) than to Phædrus. And when we speak about an early mediæval writer coming nearer to the Greek, we can of course only mean one thing, that he has approached it *viâ* Arabia. If we find a writer of the twelfth or thirteenth century quoting Aristotle, Euclid, or Galen with some approach of accuracy to the original, we may be certain that he has had access by means of Latin versions to the Arabic translations of these authors. And indeed, to revert to our present instance, how could the Arabic elements of Alfred's Æsop have crept into it unless as interpolations in an Arabic Æsop? For we find in Marie, and therefore there were in Alfred's Æsop, such distinctively Eastern tales as *The Ass' Heart* (Marie, 61, *supra* XXI.), *The Good Man and Serpent*, nearly in a complete form (Marie, 63, *supra* XX.), *The Mouse-Maiden*

* Curiously enough this is immediately followed by the ordinary version (12).

(Marie, 64, *supra* XXIII.) and *The Three Wishes* (Marie, 24, Benf. § 208), which we found reason to reckon among the Oriental elements of Phædrus (*supra*, p. 140). Considering the evidence I have produced of a larger Arabic Æsop into which these stories could easily creep in from Al Mokaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, we are justified in looking out for an Alfred who knew Arabic in searching for the original of Marie's *Fables*.

I think I have hit upon the very man in the following passage of Roger Bacon's *Compendium Studii* (ed. Brewer, p. 471). He is speaking of the need of a knowledge of the original tongues.

"But far greater errors happen in translating philosophy. Wherefore, when a many translations on all kinds of knowledge have been given us by Gerard of Cremona, Michael the Scot, Alfred the Englishman, Hermann the German, and William the Fleming, you cannot imagine how many blunders occur in their works. [Besides, they did not even know Arabic.] In the same way Michael Scot claimed the merit of numerous translations. But it is certain that Andrew a Jew laboured at them more than he did. . . . And so with the rest."

This Alfred, so Mr. Thomas Wright informs

us (*Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, s. v.), flourished about 1170 A.D.,* and this, or a slightly later date, would just give time for an English translation of his version of the Arabic Æsop, from which Marie de France could execute her own version, say about 1220 A.D.†

Not only have I identified this Alfred, but I fancy I can show that he too, like Michael Scot "and the rest," had a Jewish dragoman at his side helping him with his version. For there is another collection of Fables evidently connected with the same origin as that of Marie's. It is in Hebrew rhymed prose, has the Talmudic name for Æsop's Fables, *Mishle Shu'alim*, and has for author R. Berachyah ben Natronai ha Nakdan or the Punctuator, a name used by Jewish writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for Massorite or Grammarian. His collection runs to 107

* Herr Wüstenfeld, in the Göttingen *Abhandlungen*, xxii. 8–9, gives him a somewhat later date, basing on the first English bibliography, J. Bale *Scriptores Britanniæ*, cent. iv. § xxxv.

† William Long-Sword, Henry II.'s natural son, Marie's "le cumte Willaume, le plus vaillant de cest royaume," for whom the *Fables* were written, died in 1226.

fables, against the 103 or 106 of Marie.* Of these he has 38 in common with her and with the Romulus and with the variations from the Romulus.† His jay, like hers, is a crow, his dog crosses a bridge with cheese in its mouth, as hers does, and above all he has both the carnivorous (52) and the graminivorous version (11) of *The Lion's Share*. This by itself would be sufficient to prove his connection with the Æsop of Alfred. But besides these he has fifteen others‡ of the additional fables of Marie, including *The Mouse Maiden* (Berach., 28), and *The Ass' Heart* (Beracha, 105). There are three others, *The Man and Pit* (B. 68), *The Man and Idol* (95), and *The Treasure* (104), taken from the Arabic Bidpai,§ a couple more also from Oriental

* 103 in Roquefort's edition, but a couple or so exist elsewhere. Cf. Ex. V. iv.

† See Index, s.v. These are mainly due to Dr. Steinschneider's painstaking collation in the *Israel. Letterbode*, viii. 28–9. There are besides ten in Avian which Dr. Steinschneider missed.

‡ Ber. 19 (M. 21), Rom. *App.* 60; B. 26, cf. 59 (M. 56) App. 31; 28 (64) 61; 36 (73: 88) 28; 39 (*contra* 22) 24; 45 (81) 27; 50 (74) 36); 77 (75) 37; 81 (38) 22; 83 (72) 35; 84 (71) 25; 85 (59) 32; 86 (103) 71; 94 (98) 20; 105 (61).

§ For the first and last see my *Bidpai* Contents, C 4 and A 1; for the other Benf. § 200. The former occur in the

sources, *The Chicken and Fox* (B. 32, cf. De Gubernatis *Zool. Myth.* ii. 131), and a dispute of *Wolf, Fox, and Dove* (B. 69) as to their relative age, which parallels curiously the same dispute between *The Partridge, Monkey and Elephant*, in the *Tettira Jātaka* (Fausb. 37, tr. Rhys-Davids, 310 *seq.*). Besides these there are four which could only come from the Greek: *The Mule's Pedigree* (B. 66, Halm 157), *The Lion's Traces* (B. 93, H. 63), a curious variant of Æsop's Fable *The Fox and Dog-Ticks* (B. 102, *supra* p. 27), and a still more curious illustration of the fable referred to by Bacon (*Essays*, 54), "It was prettily devised of *Æsope; The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele and said, What a Dust doe I raise?*" (cf. B. 90).* One seems taken from the Talmud (B. 6, *Fox and Fishes*, cf. *supra*, p. 113), and for eighteen neither Dr. Steinschneider nor I can find parallels,† though many resemble incidents in

Arabic and not in the Indian Bidpai, the first being the most renowned apologue in the Barlaam and Josaphat set. See my forthcoming *Early English Lives of Buddha*, pp. 15-16.

* This has puzzled Mr. W. A. Wright and the other Baconian commentors, who leave it severely alone; it is Abstemius', No. 17, cf. Ro. ii. 16.

† *Lamb, Ram, and Lion* (25), *Ox, Lion, and Kid* (30), *Frogs and Oxen* (34, cf. Ro. ii. 20), *Cat and Mouse* (46),

the Reynard cycle,* as do some of those common to Berachyah and Marie.

This analysis shows that Berachyah's Fables are of the same family as Marie's, that they include a large infusion of Indian ingredients traceable through the Arabic, and much also which must have come indirectly from a purely Greek collection. In other words, they confirm strongly the conclusion we drew from an examination of Marie's collection that it must be traceable to an Arabic source.

The reader would probably care to see a specimen of his work. I have selected one which he has in common with Marie, and is a type of the additions made by Alfred to the Æsop of Antiquity: it savours more of the Beast-Satire. I have endeavoured to imitate

Wild Boar and Goat (48), *Lion and Lizard* (53), *Lion and Animals* (70), *Parrot and Princess* (71), *Ram and Ten Sheep* (72), *Sheep, Goat, and Shepherd* (82), *Camel and herd of Camels* (87), *Terrible Knight* (89), *Wolf and Fox* (91), *Bull and Owner* (92), *Leveret and Leverets* (97), *Lion, Goat and Fox* (98), *Crow and Carrion* (99), *Pirate and Ship* (101).

* Berach. 100, contains the incident of the Fox fishing with tail in ice. I cannot here discuss the possible light these, and other indications I have observed, may throw on the Oriental origin of Reineke Fuchs. The latest and best word on this is that of F. Voigt in the Introduction to his edition of *Ysengrimus* (Stuttgart, 1884).

the rhymed prose or doggrel, which is again an Arabic trait, that will be familiar to English readers from recent translations of *The Arabian Nights*.

The Fable of the Wolf and the Animals.

[*Mishle Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables") of Berachyah Hanakdan, No. 36].

The Wolf, the Lion's prince and peer, as the foe of all flesh did appear; greedy and grinding, he consumed all he was finding. Birds and beasts, wild and tame, by their families urged to the same, brought against him before the Lion an accusation, as a monster worthy of detestation. Said His Majesty, "If he uses his teeth as you say, and causes scandal in this terrible way, I'll punish him in such a way as to save his neck, if I may, and yet prevent you becoming his prey." Said Lion to Wolf, "Attend me to-morrow, see that you come, or you'll come to much sorrow." He came, sure enough, and the Lion spoke to him harsh and rough. "What by doing this do you mean? Never more raven the living or live by ravening. What you shall eat shall be only dead meat. The living you shall neither trap nor hunt. And that you may my words obey swear me that you'll eat no flesh for two years from to-day, to atone for your sins, testified and seen: 'tis my judgment, you had better fulfil it, I ween." Thereat the Wolf swore right away no flesh to eat for two years from that day. Off went Sir Wolf on his way, King Lion

stopped at court on his throne so gay. Nothing that's fleshly for some time did our Wolf eat, for like a gentleman he knew how his word to keep. But then came a day when he was a hungred and he looked hither and thither for meat, and lo, a fat sheep fair to look on and goodly to eat (Gen. iii. 6). Then to himself he said, "Who can keep every law?" and his thoughts were bewildered with what he saw. He said to himself, "It overcomes me the longing to eat, for two years day by day must I fast from meat. This is my oath to the king that I swore but I've thought how to fulfil it as never before. Three sixty-five are the days in a year. Night is when you close your eyes, open them, then the day is near." His eyes he closed and opens straightway. It was evening and it was morning, one day (Gen. i. 5). Thus he winked till he had numbered two years and his greed returned and his sin disappears. His eyes fix the goat (*sic*) they had seen and he said, "See beforehand I have atoned for my sin," and he seized the neck of the goat, broke it to pieces, and filled up his throat as he was wont to do before, and as of yore his hand was stretched out to the beasts, his peers, as it had been in former days and years.

The story is told with considerable humour, and the Biblical verses are wittily applied. In Marie (73) and the usual versions the wolf meets the sheep during Lent, with the greeting, "Good morrow, Salmon!" and, refusing to be convinced of his mistake, makes a fish meal off mutton. I cannot help thinking that

the story is ultimately to be traced back to some modification of the *Vaka Jātaka* (Fausb. 300, tr. R. Morris, *F.-L.J.* iii. 359), the substance of which is sufficiently indicated by its *gātha*.

"A wolf who lived by others' death
And ate their flesh and blood,
Did make a vow to keep the fast
And holy day observe.

But Indra soon did note his vow,
A goat's * form he assumed;
The murderous wolf his vow forsook
And tried the goat to seize."

Who was this Berachyah Nakdan, whose collection is of such critical importance for the mediæval history of the Fable,† and when and where did he live? This has been a long-standing subject of dispute between Drs. Steinschneider and Neubauer, the two greatest living authorities on mediæval Jewish literature, and I hesitate to interfere, especially as I happen

* *N.B.*—There is a curious vacillation between sheep and goat in Berachyah's version.

† It is for this reason that I have gone into such detail about the *Mishle Shu'alim*. I have ventured to repeat Dr. Steinschneider's collation, because it has been overlooked, owing to the obscure quarter in which it appeared, and because I have been able largely to supplement his parallels.

to differ from both in holding that he lived and wrote in England towards the end of the twelfth century.* It is due to them that I should give my reasons at some length. They are as follows:—(1) The earliest mention of him occurs in the work of an English Jew, *The Onyx Book* (*Sepher Hassoham*), of R. Moses ben Isaac, who must have died before 1215.† (2) His other translation is of the work of an Englishman of the twelfth century, the *Questiones Naturales* of Adelard of Bath. (3) The authorities he chiefly quotes, Abraham ibn Ezra (Browning's "Rabbi ben Ezra") and Solomon Parchon, are those generally quoted by English Jews; the former visited England in 1158. (4) England was the seat of a school of Nakdanim or Punctuators in the twelfth century, all those known of that date (Moses ben Yomtob, Moses ben Isaac and Samuel) being located in this country. (5) Berachyah sometimes uses French, the ordinary lan-

* It is perhaps worth while stating that I arrived at this result during my researches on the early history of the Jews in this country, long before I was aware of its importance for the history of the Fable. See my note in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* i., p. 183.

† His tombstone was then removed by the Barons to fortify Ludgate (Stow *Survey*, ed. Thoms, p. 15). See my letters in *The Academy*, Jan. 12, Feb. 2, 1889.

guage of the English Jews at this period and later,* and London was the chief centre of the French-speaking world under the Angevin kings. (6) Seemingly the oldest MS. of the Fables is one which once belonged to Cotton, and is probably therefore one of the few Hebrew MSS. belonging to the early Jews of England which have never left England (see Neubauer's *Catalogue*, No. 1466, 7, and cf. *Letters of Eminent Men* (Cam. Soc.), p. 103). (7) Finally, during the course of some researches at the Record Office I have found an Oxford Jew named "Benedictus le puncteur," paying a contribution to Richard I. on his return to captivity.† We could not have a closer translation of Berachyah (the blessed), ha Nakdan (the Punctuator), and there has always been a tradition that Oxford Jews helped towards the foundation of the University. Few identifications of mediæval personages rest on stronger grounds than these, and we may fairly assume, I think, that Berachyah Nakdan lived in England about 1190 A.D., and was known

* I have published an interesting letter in French from an English Jew as late as 1280 in the *Revue des études juives*, 1889, p. 258.

† "OXONIA... De Bñdicto le punct' xxvj s. & viij d p eod." (*Miscell. Queen's Remembr.* 556/2 mem. 1. *ad imum.*)

among Englishmen as "Benedict le puncteur." If so, we can scarcely imagine the two men, Alfred and Benedict, translating from the Arabic independently, and it is but the slightest step further to assume that Benedict (Berachyah) the Jew was to Alfred the Englishman what Andrew the Jew was to Michael the Scot, as indeed Roger Bacon implies in asserting the same of "all the rest."* While aiding Alfred, Berachyah worked at the Fables on his own account, and thus produced the Fox Fables (*Meshle Shu'alim*) which have so long puzzled critics to account for their *provenance*.† I may add that about the same time over in distant Armenia the vartabied Eremia (Dr. Jeremiah) was translating from the Arabic a collection of 164 fables under the title *Agho-Vesakirk* (*The Fox Book*),‡ that the two collections of Marie

* The only other alternative is that Berachyah translated Alfred's Latin. But I know of no such translation into rhymed prose, which was an Arabic invention, and was used by the Jews chiefly to translate Arabic. Prof. Chenery published a Hebrew version in rhymed prose of Hariri's *Makamen* a few years ago.

† See Du Méril, pp. 26-8, and Lessing, *Werke*, vi. p. 52, *seq.*

‡ Du Méril, p. 30, who mentions casually the similarity of the title to that of Berachyah's. It must be remembered, however, that the latter is Talmudical. A French trans-

and Berachyah, which are certainly from the same source, amount between them to 163 separate fables, and that the India Office Arabic MS. contains, or did contain, 164 fables. Such numerical coincidences rarely happen by accident.

On general grounds indeed we might assume that any new incursion of Beast-Fables during the twelfth century would occur in this country, for during that period England was the home of the Fable. A glance at the Pedigree which heads this Introduction will confirm this. Herr Mall locates the Romulus of Nilant and the LBG fables in England, the earliest MSS. of *Fabulæ rhythmicæ* are still here. The most popular collection of Fables in the late Middle Ages was one of the first three books of the *Romulus*, in tolerable Latin verse, passing under an infinity of names.* To one of the many MSS. M. Hervieux found the colophon—

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lation of Eremia's Fables seems to have appeared in 1676, at the end of an abridged translation of Moses of Khorene. I have not been able to find this in any of the great English libraries.

* Garicius, Garritus, Galfredus, Hildebertus, Ugobardus de Salmone, Walterus, Salo, Salone, Serlo, Bernard de Chartres, Accius and Alanus (Oesterley, *Rom.* p. xxiv.).

"Gualterus Anglicus fecit hunc librum sub nomine Esopi,"

which fixes Walter of England as the author of the collection hitherto known as the *Anonymus Neveleti*. From this were derived no less than two French metrical versions, besides an Italian one in verse. Then again there was another collection in Latin verse done by Alexander Neckam * (1157–1217, foster-brother of Richard I., and author of *De naturis rerum* in the Rolls Series), which gave rise to two French versions. We have just seen the important collection associated with the name of Alfred, the only original contribution to the Fable in the Middle Ages, being composed in England about the same time, and giving rise to a Middle English and a French version—that of Marie de France—which in its turn gave rise to an Italian and to two Latin versions, from one of which a Dutch version, by one Gerard, introduced Alfred's Æsop to Teutonic Europe. It would indeed be difficult to

* His real name was Alexander Nequam (= "Naughty Alick"), but this caused so much unmerciful ridicule that he changed the spelling of his name.

suggest where else but in England Berachyah's fables could have been produced.

Nor should I be surprised if some at least of the many adaptations in French verse, known by the name of *Ysopet*, were also made in this country. We are too apt to forget that literature, like commerce, follows the flag, and that London in the latter half of the twelfth century (1154–1206) was the capital and centre of the French-speaking world. The Angevin Empire during those years included Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Toulouse, Aquitaine, and Gascony, and the poets and literary men of that vast tract of country looked to London for recognition and reward. Nearly two-thirds of the French writers of that period are connected with the court of England; nor do they all write in Anglo-Norman.* If these writers had written in Latin we should include them in *Biographia literaria anglo-normannica*,† but because they happened to write in the court-

* I calculate this from elaborate lists I have made from M. Gaston Paris' admirable *Literature française du moyen âge*.

† Bishop Stubbs' admirable lectures on "Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II." (*Lectures* vi., vii.) only deal with Latin writers.

language—French—we allow them to be engulfed in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*.*

I hope to develope elsewhere the thesis that England in the latter half of the twelfth century was the nidus, to use a biological term, of the whole Romantic movement which characterises mediæval literature. At present I would point out that this country was certainly the home of the Fable during that period, and that it is therefore probable that some at least of the French *Ysopets* were composed here.

We can observe the English love of the Fable outside the special collections devoted to it. It is possible that the predilection can be traced to the Norman element, for one of the few material relics of William the Conqueror, the famous piece of tapestry now at Bayeux, attributed to the fair hands of his Queen Matilda, contains representations of a dozen Æsopic fables on the lower border of the tapestry.

As they represent the first contact of Eng-

* As it is, we have permitted M. Hervieux to compile his *Corpus Fabularum medii ævi* from MSS. the majority of which were in English libraries.

land with the Fables, we have selected four of them—our old friend *The Wolf and Crane*, *The Fox and Crow*, *The Eagle and Tortoise*, which has been broken literally in two, and *The Wolf and Lamb*—as a suitable frontispiece to this introduction to the first English printed version of them.* They are represented with some spirit and sense of humour, considering the impracticable nature of their medium.† It is probable that they are to be affiliated with the collection of Ademar, since Matilda was from Flanders. Indeed M. Comte observes that the figures are closely allied to those given in the Leyden MS. of Ademar. There is a certain amount of likeness between the Bayeux *Wolf and Lamb* and that figured in our Caxton, which derives through a French imitation of Stainhöwel's woodcut, which probably repro-

* They have been taken from J. Comte's photographic reproductions of the Tapestry (*La tapisserie de Bayeux*, Rouen, 1879), pl. iv.–vi. Others occur on pl. i (*Two Bitches?*), iv–vi. (*Nulla vestigia*), vii. (*Fox and Goat*), viii. (*Lion's Share*), x.–xii. (*Swallow and Birds*), xi. (*Ass in Lion's Skin?*), xiv. (*? Ephesian Widow*). Du Méril (p. 176) adds *Fox and Grapes*, but I could not identify this.

† We have endeavoured to reproduce the stitching of the tapestry.

duced the traditional representation in MSS. The Bayeux version deals, however, with the first act of the tragedy; the wolf, it will be observed, is lapping the stream which the needlewoman has carefully represented running *down* to the lamb. The presence of *The Eagle and Tortoise* from Avian among the Romulean Fables requires some comment. It illustrates the early date at which the more popular portions of Avian were interpolated in the Romulus.* The fact that the Fables were chosen to adorn a great national monument is sufficient to indicate their popularity among the Normans, among whom we find the same throughout their predominance in England.†

When John of Salisbury in the next century bears from the mouth of a Pope the venerable apologue of *The Belly and Members* (ii. 6, 24) Poly., it is an Englishman, Nicholas Brakespeare

* Our Ro. IV. xx. (*Oak and Reed*) is not in the Burneian *Romulus*. I suspect, too, that Ro. I. xx. (*Swallow and Birds*, Rom. I. xix.) is an earlier interpolation from Avian.

† The presence of Æsopic fables on the Tapestry used to be one of the arguments against its authenticity (Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, iii. 571–2). The argument was invalid, since we know of MSS. of the Fables of the tenth (*Rufus*, Burneian) and eleventh (Ademar) centuries.

(Adrian IV.), speaking to an Englishman. When Richard Cœur de Lion, after his return from captivity in 1194, wished to rebuke the Barons for their ungrateful conduct, he told them the Eastern apologue of *The Man, Lion, and Serpent*, who were all three rescued from a pit by a peasant. The lion shortly afterwards brings his benefactor a leveret, the serpent a precious jewel, but the man, on being applied to for the promised reward, drives away his deliverer. This is no other than the *Kârma Jâtaka* (given by Benfey from a Tibetan version, pp. 105–8), though Richard doubtless had heard it orally, as the ungrateful one is said to be Vitalis, a Venetian.*

But it is in the popular literature of anecdote and sermon that we find the popularity of the Fable in England best verified. When Odo de

* Matthew Paris' addition to Disset (*sub. anno* 1195, ed. Luard, ii. 413–6). See Benfey's interesting and long § 71. Cf., too, Gower, *Conf. Aman.* v. 6, ed. Morley, 276–8. We may have here the clue to the relationship between Berachyah's collection and that of the Armenian Eremia, since Cyprus, the home of Richard's Queen, Berengaria, was at that time in intimate relations with Armenia (cf. Stubbs' *Lectures*, p. 161). Isaac Comnenus, the Basileus of Cyprus, whom Richard deposed, had been for some time ruler of Armenia. It is not, however, in Marie or Berachyah.

Cerintonia (? Sherington in Warwick) in the thirteenth century collected his *Narrationes*, more than half were fables, and the same applies to John of Sheppey in the next century. John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* has several fables; so has Mapes' *Poems*, and even Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*. The collections of examples for the use of the clergy in their sermons by Holkot, by Bromyard (*Summa Predicantium*), or by Nicole Bozon, an English Franciscan monk, who wrote in French (*Romania* xv. 343, G. Paris, *Lit. franç au moyen âge*, §§ 81, 152), are filled with fables. The poets also made use of them. Gower and Lydgate occur in our Parallels, and Chaucer seems to have been acquainted with Alfred's Æsop.*

As the Middle Ages died away, England lost her hegemony in the realm of Fable, and at the invention of printing it was Germany that took the lead in spreading a knowledge of Æsop through Europe, by means of printed books. The first German book printed was Boner's *Edelstein* of 100 fables. Heinrich Stainhöwel brought together in his *Äsop* the four books of

* The quotation from Ysope in *The Tale of Melibœus* seems to refer to *Extrav.* vii.

the *Romulus*, really as we have seen prose versions of Phædrus, and selections from the other collections, 17 from the century of Greek fables translated by Ranuzio, 27 from the prose versions of Avian, and 17 from a source which has never yet been identified, and called by him *Fabulæ Extravagantes*. For the majority of these I have found parallels in Marie or Berachyah, or both, and it is possible that we have in the *Fabulæ Extravagantes* a German revision of Alfred's Æsop.* At any rate they are of the same branch, and represent Alfred's collection in the modern European Æsop. For Stainhöwel's *Äsop*† is the parent of all the printed Æsops of Europe. He himself gave a German translation of his Latin text. Jules Machault, a monk at Lyons, next translated the fables into French, and Caxton, without much loss of time, turned this into English in

* It is from them that we get *The Dog and Manger* and *The Fox* (with many wiles) *and Cat* (with one), which occur in the Greek, but not in the Latin Æsop. This is, as we have seen, a characteristic mark of Alfred's Æsop. The only MS. containing the *Extravagantes* is the Breslau MS. of Petrus Alphonsus.

† Oesterley edited this for the Stuttgart *Literarischer Verein*, Bnd. 117, but very perfunctorily, and missing a grand opportunity.

the winter and spring of 1483–4. Next year an Italian version of Stainhöwel by one Tuppo appeared at Venice, then a Dutch version was made from the French of Machault in 1490, and Spain, late as usual, added Æsop to her printed books by the hands of the Infante Henrique in 1496.* All these editions—Latin, German, French, English, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, have the Fables arranged in the same order, and are illustrated by woodcuts plainly copied from one another. Thus in explaining the *provenance* of our Caxton, we have practically performed the same task for the European Æsop: our bibliography would serve equally well *mutatis mutandis*, for the first edition of Æsop in German, Latin, French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish.†

Our Caxton is an average specimen of the

* Conservative Spain has remained true to the Stainhöwel ever since. I have a duodecimo of the early part of this century, still following his order, and with plates which are merely reductions of the earliest woodcuts. There was a Catalan version made from this in 1682 (Du Méril, p. 161).

† I have, however, given a predominance to the English references, as is but natural. The French references are to be found in Robert's or Regnier's Lafontaine, the German in Oesterley's scattered references (chiefly in his edition of Kirchhof), and in Kurz' excellent edition of Waldis, and the Italian, partly, in Ghivizzani.

worthy printer's style and literary attainments. These do not reach a very high standard, nor was there much opportunity for the display of any great literary gifts in the translation of such mediocre productions as the mediæval Latin prose versions of Phædrus, Avian, and the rest. At times he stumbles in his rendering, at times he calmly reproduces a French word for which he had no translation handy; most of the words in our glossary are Gallicisms of this sort. The important thing to notice about Caxton's relation to our literature is the admirable taste he displayed in the selection of English works which he considered worthy of being printed. A History of the World (Higden's *Polychronicon*), a History of England (*Chronicle*), a Geography (*Description of Britain*), an encyclopædia of science, such as it was (*Mirrour of the World*), and proverbial philosophy (*Dictes, Moral Proverbs*), were among his contributions to knowledge. For practical life he had to offer manuals of behaviour (*Courtesy, Good Manners*), a family medicine (*Gouvernal of Health*), the legal enactments of his time (*Statutes of Hen. VII.*), the noble game (*Chesse*), a courtier's guide (*Curial*), and a knight's

(*Order of Chivalry*). As "stuff o' the imagination" he provided his countrymen with characteristic specimens of the three great English poetic names—Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate (*Canterbury Tales, Confessio Amantis, Chorle and Bird*), and equally characteristic examples of mediæval romance, classical (*Recueil, Eneydos, Jason*), national (*Charles, Arthur*), allegorical (*Fame, Love*), and satirical (*Reynard*). In ghostly instruction his books taught the Christian how to pray (*Fifteen Oes*), how and when to be edified (*Festial, Four Sermons*), what examples to follow in life (*Golden Legend*), how to die (*Art and Craft of Dying, Deathbed Prayers*), and what to expect after death (*Pilgrimage of the Soul*). Altogether considering Caxton was publisher as well as author and printer, he showed himself fully ahead of the taste of his day and went far towards producing the hundred best books in English for his day and hour.

Not least did he show his taste and insight in selecting our Æsop for one of his most ambitious productions. After all, the books that are really European may even at the present day be counted on the fingers of one hand, and

Æsop is one of the five if they reach to so many.* Merely regarded from the number of editions it went through,† Caxton's Æsop was his most popular production. But the popularity of such a book as Æsop is not to be judged by the number of reprints any particular version of it goes through. To take a modern instance, booksellers tell us that the only book of fairy tales that will take with the general public is "Grimm's Goblins." Yet there is no particular version of this that rules the book-market, and it is rather the number of versions that affords the strongest testimony to their popularity. So with Æsop; it is the number of competing adaptations that speaks most clearly for its hold on the popular mind. It is of course impossible for me here to go through all these, and I must content myself with point-

* The Bible (*i.e.*, Genesis, some Psalms and the Gospels), Æsop (selections in reading-books) and *Robinson Crusoe* are, so far as I can think, the only really popular books throughout Europe, *i.e.*, which every European who can read has read. I would add *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but fear that English prepossessions cause me to exaggerate its wide-spread popularity. (I doubt, *e.g.*, whether it is much read in Russia.)

† Six, the *princeps* (1484), Tynson's (1500), Waley's (1570), Hebb's two (1634, 1647), and Roper's (1658).

ing out the versions that found most favour with English folk in the generations that succeeded Caxton.*

The popularity of Æsop in the sixteenth century was shown by a curious use of them made by W. Bullokar, the earliest English spelling reformer. In order to convince his countrymen of the unwisdom of their ways, he selected the most popular book he could think of to exemplify his own more perfect way of spelling, and published "Æsop's Fabl's in tru Ortógraphy" (1585). But Caxton had too strong a hold on English affection to be replaced, and he held sway far into the seventeenth century. Towards the end of this, however, his diction began to fail to be understanded of the vulgar. John Ogilby offered the English public the additional attraction of verse and of "sculptures" by Hollar and Barlow (1651, 1668). Sir Roger L'Estrange gave the further advantage of adding most of the new sets of fables that had been edited abroad, so

* The British Museum publishes at a nominal price the article "Æsop" of the printed catalogue. This contains some 500 numbers, of which about 120 refer to English editions. This, of course, has to be supplemented by the articles "Bidpai," "Babrius," "Fable," and "Phædrus."

that his collection (509 numbers against the 160 or so of Caxton's), is still the most extensive in existence.* It has besides some place in the European history of the fable, as 188 fables of it passed by way of German into Russian, and there gave rise, so far as I can learn, to Krilof and his school.† A factitious interest was given to Æsop in the learned world towards the end of the seventeenth century, by its forming a side issue of the Phalaris controversy‡ which probably helped to keep L'Estrange's bulky tome in demand to the tune of seven editions. He inflicted on Æsop the additional indignity of "applications"

* A fine reprint of it was published a few years ago by "John Gray & Co." 1879.

† On him see the late Mr. Ralston's *Krilof and his Fables*. Krilof, I may add, was only the chief of a whole school of of Russial fabulists (Chemnitzer, Dimitrief, Glinka, Goncharof), who afford another instance of the political use of fables.

‡ Prof. Jebb (*Bentley*, pp. 52, 72), notices a curious instance of this. All the fat had originally been spilt on the fire by the young editors of Phalaris speaking of "the singular humanity" of the King's Librarian (Bentley) in refusing them the use of a MS. of Phalaris. In Alsop's collection of Greek fables with Latin translations (1698) there is mention of "the singular humanity" of *The Dog in the Manger*. As this is the last fable of the set it was probably added for the sake of the sting in its tail.

in addition to "morals"; these were intended to promote the Jacobite cause.

L'Estrange was succeeded on the Æsopic throne of England by the Rev. S. Croxall, whose reign lasted throughout the eighteenth century, and whose dynasty still flourishes among us in the *Chandos Classics*. It says much for the vitality of Æsop that he has survived so long under the ponderous morals and "applications"—Whig against L'Estrange's Jacobitism—with which the reverend gentleman loaded his author. It is probable, however, that Æsop came to the public with slighter *impedimenta* than these. Last century was the era of the chap-book and the caterers of Aldermary Churchyard did not omit specimens of Æsop among their wares. I can scarcely commend the selection they made. The only chap-book Æsop in the British Museum (that reprinted by Mr. Ashton in his *Chap-books*), seems to have gone out of its way to select the dozen most obscure fables; three of them indeed I cannot even trace elsewhere. Perhaps the compilers were looking for novelty rather than familiarity and assumed that the fables better known to us would be also known to

their customers through reading-books. For it is by means of selections in reading-books that Æsop has been most widely spread; I myself must confess my indebtedness to the venerable Mavor for my first introduction to Æsop, and many of my readers will have had the same experience.* The spread of Æsop's Fables among the people is proved by the existence of many popular proverbs derived from them.† But how they got to the people and how they are transmitted there is singularly little evidence to show. The collectors of popular tales and traditions, who have now exhausted Europe, have left Æsop's Fables aside, seemingly of *malice prepense*. They seemed to have thought that they would be offering nothing new in such well-known apologues, whereas it would be of extreme interest to study the variations they underwent as they passed from mouth to mouth.‡

* For this reason I have included Mavor in my bibliography. I have used the 322nd edition, the earliest I could get access to.

† I have given for England a score or so examples from Mr. Hazlitt's collection. He omits, however, owing to his plan, proverbial expressions like *dog in the manger*, &c.

‡ Partial exception is afforded by Hahn's *Griech. Märchen*, which contains three (87, 91, 93). Curiously

There is still another means by which Æsop reaches the folk, and especially the little folk, and that is by pictorial illustration. Most of the Æsops that have been popular among us for the last half-century, have appealed to the eye as well as the understanding. The Rev. T. James, had the luck to have his new version of the fables (1848), adorned by the pure and classic outline of John Tenniel. This has caused his version to be a favourite one, and early impressions command a high price. The Rev. G. F. Townsend, who edited no less than two entirely different Æsopic collections in two years, one an adaptation of Croxall (1866, now in the *Chandos Classics*) toning down his ponderosities, the other a selection of 300 translated from the Greek Prose Æsop (1867), embellished the latter with some very passable designs of H. Weir. Recently two of the best known illustrators of books have applied their skill to the ever young Æsop. If ever there was a man who seemed specially designed by

enough they are all from the *Fabulæ extravagantes* (iv. v. x.). Is it possible that they retain traces of a Middle Greek derivate of the original of Alfred's Æsop? There are also a couple among the Nivernais folk-tales, collected by M. A. Millin in *Archivio per trad. pop.* iv.

every natural gift to make Æsop live again in line, tone, and colour, it was Randolph Caldecott; who that remembers his dog in *The House that Jack Built*, will deny the assertion? Yet he denied it himself practically in his own attempt, which can scarcely be pronounced a success; perhaps he was too much taken up with his maladroit plan of accompanying each fable with a modern instance.* Mr. Walter Crane has succeeded better in his *Baby's Own Æsop*, and has given us 65 admirable decorative designs taken from Æsop. But he suffers from the malady of us all—over-seriousness, and has left out of his ingredients that pinch of humour that has savoured the fabulist and kept the Æsopic jests of the ancients sweet throughout the ages.†

Their vitality and power in England have been shown in various ways. They have received the flattery of imitation from many

* The plan may have been suggested by a similar collection done by Mr. Charles Bennet somewhere in the "sixties." Prof. Rankine performed a curious *tour de force* by inventing fables to correspond to well-known inn-signs, e.g., *Pig and Whistle, Goat and Compasses*, &c.

† I have collated all the English editions here mentioned for the parallels: they will serve at least to show the relative popularity of each fable.

hands; only two of these many attempts at "original" fables deserve notice. John Gay tried to be the English Lafontaine, but departed from his model in attempting to add new fables instead of contenting himself with adorning the old; he only succeeded in one case, *The Hare with many Friends*. In our own days Lord Lytton has tried to allegorise the complexities and subtleties of modern life in "Fables in Song," but the task was a hopeless one from the start. Æsop's Fables have suffered too from the parodist* and the caricaturist, and in all the curious ways in which the modern world shows an inverted respect for things of old Æsop has shown that he has obtained a lasting hold on the minds of men.

Vivit volat per ora virûm.†

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* The best of these I have seen is a little volume of *Fables out of the* [New York] *World*, by "G. Washington Æsop"; but they are poor fooling at the best.

† The fables live yet. I have noticed a couple of instances of effective use of them in Mr. Stevenson's latest masterpiece, *The Master of Ballantrae* (*The Viper and File*, p. 206, and *The Goose with Golden Eggs*, p. 309).

V.—FABLIAU, FACETIÆ, FABLE.

Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον ἢ συβαριτικόν.
—ARISTOPH. *Vesp.* 1259.

Omne genus fabularum probatur contra homines. Quis enim malus nisi homo. et quis bonus nisi homo?
ROMULUS II. *Prol.*

WE have now commented upon all the sections of our Caxton which contain Beast-Fables pure and simple. There still remain two others which, interesting as they are in their way, have but slight connection with our subject, and must therefore be dismissed somewhat cavalierly. They owe their place in the European Æsop to Stainhöwel, who gives an elaborate but lame excuse for inserting them. At the same time they are both interesting in themselves, and illustrate a characteristic tendency of the fable which has clung to it throughout its history. For this reason I have retained them in the present reprint, especially as one of the *Romulus* fables has got mixed among them.

The first set of *Fabulæ collectæ*, as Stainhöwel called them, are a selection from the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, a Spanish Jew,

of the beginning of the twelfth century. All that is known of him is that his Jewish name was Moses Sephardi (the Spaniard), and that he was baptized by the name of Petrus Alphonsus under the auspices of Alfonso II. (Petrus Raimundus) in 1106. He wrote an interesting set of dialogues between the old Adam of Moses Sephardi and the new man of Petrus Alphonsus, in order to convert the Jews. But he chiefly interests here as the compiler of a collection of tales from Jewish and Arabic sources, intended for seasoning to sermons, and so termed *Disciplina clericalis*. There can have been few ladies attending service in those days, for few of the tales admit of being told "in the presence of Mrs. Boffin." They were extraordinarily popular, however, and spread throughout Europe from Spain to Iceland.* They are interesting for their early date, being the first set of Oriental tales to reach Europe. They introduced a new *genre* into European literature,

* The only edition accessible of them is that appended to Gering's *Islensk Æventyri*. V. Schmidt's edition is rare, and that of the *Société des bibliophiles* was almost "printed as MS.," as the Germans say. Schmidt's text was reprinted in vol. clvii. of that *omnium gatherum*, Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*.

for Alfonso (Père Aunfors) is the father of the Fabliau, and thus the grandfather of the Italian novel, and so an ancestor of the Elizabethan Drama. It is curious that the *esprit gaulois* of the Fabliaux is largely traceable to a book of translations from the Arabic originally intended for ghostly instruction, and so entitled.*

The other set of the *Fabulæ Collectæ* are a selection of the milder specimens of the *Facetiæ* of Poggio Bracciolini (1381–1459), apostolic secretary to eight successive Popes. He is still better known as one of the most indefatigable collectors of classical MSS.: almost all the *editiones principes* of the classic authors were made from MSS. collected by Poggio. The only MS. which he left of his own was a collection of *anecdotes grivoises*, which got into print some ten years after his death. They represent the Humanist reaction against the over-strained and somewhat sensual chastity of mediæval Christianity. They are mostly tales of a kind

* It is probable that Alfonso's collection was originally much larger, and that many more of the *fabliaux* might be traced to it. De Castro speaks of the Escurial copy being in three books, a division of which there is no trace and for which there is opportunity in the thirty-nine tales of the extant collection. I regret I did not examine the MS. on my visit to the Escurial *aliud agens*, last year.

which we do not tell or print now-a-days; or which, to speak more frankly, we only tell when we are young and only print privately in limited editions of 1000 copies.* The few that have got into the Caxton have passed through the censorship of two Teutons, of colder and manlier mould than the apostolic secretary of eight popes, and I have merely had to omit one as being only suitable for the newspaper reports of the Court of Probate and Divorce.

The *Fabulæ Collectæ* represent a tendency by which the fable has been marked throughout its history. Throughout ancient times it was regarded as a species of the Jest, a kind of Beast-Jest, as it were. This aspect is its point of contact with the Obscene Tale which has always been connected with it; the Beast-Jest and the Beastly Jest go together. And both forms are just the kind of tale which passes easiest by word of mouth from men of one nationality to those of another. Sir Robert Walpole gave the brutal excuse for the freedom of his talk that obscenities were the one topic

* There is of course a whole literature of this kind, the mere description of which fills seven volumes of a *Bibliographie de l'amour*, a veritable Cloaca Maxima of bibliography.

in which men of all shades of political opinion were interested after dinner. The folk-lorist has to recognise much the same with regard to the social intercourse of men of different nations. Hahn, in the admirable introduction to his collection of *Griechische und albanesische Mährchen* (1864), makes it a great point against the borrowing theory of the diffusion of folk-tales, that the only kind which he had observed to pass between men of various nationalities during his travels in the Levant, was the *Schwank*, Droll or Jest. It is accordingly important from this point of view to emphasise the Jest-like nature of the Fable which thus becomes exempt from Hahn's objection to the borrowing theory. Perhaps, the secret of the matter is, that neither the Beast Tale nor the Obscene Jest touch upon any of the prejudices, local, national and religious, which separate the the various sections of mankind. They are both "universally human" to use the technical term of folk-lore; they both, let us rather say, appeal to the common animality of man.

Meanwhile it is possible that the collections on which we are commenting have a connection, somewhat closer than mere resemblance,

with the "Sybaritic Jests," which are so closely connected with Æsop's Fables in antiquity. Alfonso's *Discipline for the Clergy* probably represents the offscourings of Levant talk into which some of the Milesian Tales of the ancients may have penetrated.* Poggio again was likely to be on the scent for the more malodorous portions of Latin literature, and his *Facetiæ* may preserve some that could trace back to the luxury and vice of Sybaris. This result would at any rate complete the representative character of our collection. The first four books of it can be traced back to Demetrius' *Assemblies of Æsopian Tales*. The selections from Remicius and Avian preserve for us, it is probable, parts of the Lybian Tales of Kybises, the *Fabulæ Extravagantes* represent the mediæval Æsop of Alfred. Is it possible that the Fabliaux of Alfonso and the Facetiæ of Poggio are in any way survivals of the Milesian and Sybaritic Jests that always went hand-in-hand with the Ancient Fable? †

* The latest account of these is by E. Rhode. *Verhandl. d. 25. Phil.-sammlung*, p. 66.

† It was this contamination with broader elements that caused Luther to set about making a cleaner collection of the *altern Kinderbuch so Esopus heisst*.

Having said so much of Fables, it only remains to say something about the Fable. For the dictionary-maker we may define it as a short humorous allegorical tale, in which animals act in such a way as to illustrate a simple moral truth or inculcate a wise maxim.* This definition, somewhat unwieldy, we fear, will distinguish the Beast-Fable from the Allegory proper by its shortness and its use of animal actors, and from the Parable by the latter characteristic and its humorous tinge.† Its anecdotic character differentiates the Fable from the proverb, from which it is often otherwise difficult to distinguish it. The Arabic proverb about the ostrich, *They said to the camel-bird, "Fly;" it said "I am a beast;" they said "Carry;" it*

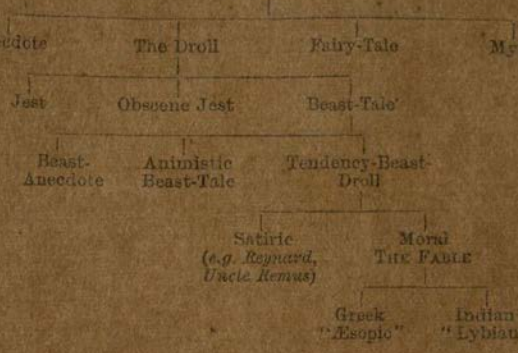
* Some fables, *i.e.*, teach us an elementary lesson in moral psychology, others give us some advice in some of the simpler relations of life. It might be added that a literary comment in general adds the truth or maxim in the form of a Moral.

† There are some good remarks on the distinction between the Fable and the Parable in Trench's *Lessons on the Parables.* He points out that the use of animals in the Fable prevents its application to the higher ethical relations of men with which the Parable mainly deals. It is probable that this may account for the Jewish neglect of the Fable, for which the Hebrews showed some aptitude in the earlier periods when the best minds of the nation were less strenuously occupied with the higher problems of life.

said "I am a bird," is on the border-line between the two.* It is of more importance to distinguish the Beast-Fable from the Beast-Tale in general, and even from the Beast-Satire. It is a highly specialised form of the Beast-Tale, distinguished by its moral tendency. The Germans speak of a certain kind of novels as forming the class of *Tendenz-Roman*. The Fable, as we use the word,† is in a similar way what a German might call a *Tendenz-Tier-Schwank*, and may be further distinguished from the Beast-Satire by the characteristic that its "tendency" is moral and not satirical. I may perhaps render clearer the distinctions I wish to make by giving them, *more meo*, in a genealogical table, in which, however, the poverty of our folk-lore terminology will cause me, I fear, to use many a term of forbidding and Teutonic description.

* Our proverb, *A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*, is a Fable *in petto*. The ready passage of fable into proverb and *vice versâ* shows the indistinctness of the border line between the two. Cf. *supra* p. 108.

† Modern English has specialised it to apply only to the Beast-Fable. In earlier times it was applied to any tale. Dryden's *Fables* are stories of men and women, not of beasts.



The Fable, according to this classification, is a Moral Tendency-Beast-Droll. It is important to make these somewhat fine distinctions, as much confusion has been caused in the discussion of the origin of the Fable by a neglect of them.† Writers who desire to make the Fable "universally human" point to animistic beast-tales or satiric beast-drolls in Polynesia, Caffraria, Assyria, and so on. But in so doing they leave out the differentia of the Fable, and forget that they have failed to find any moral tendency in their so-called

* The classification is rough, and does not profess to be phylogenetic.

† I must confess myself a sinner in this regard in my discussion on this point in my *Bidpai*, pp. xxxix.-xlix.

Polynesian, Assyrian, or Hottentot Fables. Of course it is difficult to draw the distinction, and many animistic Beast-Tales and Beast-Satires occur in the collection of Fables we have been considering. The simplest criterion is perhaps to be found in Horace's line,

Mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The best Greek and Indian Fables come home to one at once on the mere statement of the case, and this "coming home" quality is their characteristic.

The artistic qualities needed to produce this effect are seemingly simple, but they have rarely been found cunningly mixed in the due proportions. The situation depicted in the action should be grotesque; its very incongruity is part of the convention of the Fable. A crane with its neck voluntarily inserted halfway down a lion's throat, a jay bedecked with peacock's plumes, a mouse nibbling at a lion's toils; these things never were on sea or land. It is therefore this un-nature that causes us to recognise that more is meant than meets the ear, that we are not merely going to hear a Beast-Anecdote (of which *The Crow and Pitcher* may be taken as

a type). It depends upon the tone in which the extra-implication is suggested whether the Beast-Tale has become a Beast-Satire or a Beast-Fable. If the narrator slily points the finger of scorn at the world as it too often is—the world of self-interest, greed and cunning—the result is a Beast-Satire. If what is implied refers to the world of moral ends, the realm of self-abnegation, of gratitude, and of affection, we have a Beast-Fable. The choice of beasts as the medium of satire or morality naturally restricts the motives which can be depicted. The life of animals as observed by man, or at least by early man, is seemingly one monotonous round of greed, cruelty, revenge, and self-seeking, brightened only by parental joys. It is accordingly with those vices and this virtue that the Fable chiefly deals. All that is meant by culture—knowledge, beauty, love, consideration for others—is beyond its range. Hence the adaptation of the fable to the childish and childlike minds.* I may add that as part of the convention of the Fable we have types of virtues and vices represented by special

* Its lessons, however, are not very elevating; it is rather its humour that appeals most strongly.

animals: courage by the lion, greed by the wolf, cunning by the fox, brute strength by the bear, innocence of the lamb, and so on. It is possible that it was by this specialising of types that early man began his lessons in moral abstraction; to him cunning was foxiness, magnanimity leoninity, cruelty wolfhood. Even to the present day we have no other way of referring to one of the ruling motives in a capitalistic society than by speaking of *The Dog in the Manger*.

It follows from all this that the Fable is a highly specialised form of the universally human tendency to tell a Tale. We should not therefore be surprised if it only occurs in full vigour in one or two of the great civilisations. We have seen sporadic examples of the Beast-Fable, or perhaps rather Beast-Satire, in Egypt, Judæa, Rome, and Arabia, but the Fable proper, in full and free development, is only found in Greece and India. This result at first sight seems to tell strongly in favour of Benfey's borrowing theory of the diffusion of folk-tales and of Herr Gruppe's "revelationist" views as to the origin of myths. But the highly specialised character of the Fable

prevents us from applying results obtained from consideration of its history to the more general question of origin, while its Droll character will explain its more easy transmission. These considerations minimise the general bearing of our results, which would otherwise be conclusively decisive in favour of Benfey, M. Cosquin, and Herr Gruppe. *

The specialised character of the Fable again renders it difficult to speak of it in any abstract or general way. We cannot speak of Fable in general when we only know of Greek and of Indian Fables in particular. This suggests that we may get more easily at their *Wesen* by studying their *Werden*. This is the more necessary, as hitherto we have told the tale of the Fable backwards more in the order of discovery † than of development, more in logical than chronological progression. The reader

* Another point of difference is that the transmission of the Fable, so far as we can trace it, has been almost entirely literary. It is only in the early "Libyan" Fables that we seem to see any evidence of oral tradition of Fables from one nation to another.

† It may interest the reader to know that most of my new points occurred to me as I came to examine and write upon the various divisions of my subject. This will at anyrate be proof that I did not arrive at them *à priori* in the interest of any particular theory.

will probably be glad to have the somewhat abstruse and complicated inquiries on which we have been engaged summed up for him in the shape of a Short History of the Fable.*

Most nations develope the Beast-Tale as part of their folk-lore, some go further and apply it to satiric purposes, and a few nations afford isolated examples of the shaping of the Beast Tale to teach some moral truth by means of the Fable properly so-called. But only two peoples —independently—made this a general practice. Both in Greece and in India we find in the earliest literature such casual and frequent mention of Fables as seems to imply a body of Folk-Fables current among the people. And in both countries special circumstances raised the Fable from folk-lore into literature. In Greece during the epoch of the Tyrants, when free speech was dangerous, the Fable was largely used for political purposes. The inventor of this application or the most prominent user of it was one Æsop, a slave at Samos whose

* It is well perhaps to warn the reader that two-thirds of the Short History of the Fable he is about to hear consists of discoveries or hypotheses of my own which have not yet gone through the ordeal of specialist criticism.

name has ever since been connected with the Fable. When free speech was established in the Greek democracies, the custom of using Fables in harangues was continued and encouraged by the rhetoricians (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 20), while the mirth-producing qualities of the Fable caused it to be regarded as fit subject of after-dinner conversation along with other jests of a broader kind ("Milesian," "Sybaritic.") This habit of regarding the Fable as a form of the Jest intensified the tendency to connect it with a well-known name as in the case of our Joe Miller. About 300 B.C. Demetrius Phalereus, whilom tyrant of Athens and founder of the Alexandria Library, collected together all the Fables he could find under the title of *Assemblies of Æsopic Tales.* This collection, running probably to some 200 Fables, after being interpolated and edited by the Alexandrine grammarians, was turned into neat Latin iambics by Phædrus, a Greek freedman of Augustus in the early years of the Christian era.

In India the great ethical reformer, Sakyamuni, initiated (or adopted from the Brahmins) the habit of using the Beast-Tale for moral

purposes, or in other words, transformed it into the Fable proper. A collection of these seems to have existed independently in which the Fables were associated with the name of a mythical sage, Kâsyapa.* These were appropriated by the early Buddhists by the simple expedient of making Kâsyapa the preceding incarnation of the Buddha. A number of his *itihâsas* or Tales were included in the sacred Buddhistic work containing the *Jâtakas* or previous-births of the Buddha, in some of which the Bodisat (or future Buddha) appears as one of the Dramatis Personæ of the Fables (the Crane, *e.g.*, in our *Wolf and Crane* being one of the incarnations of the Buddha). The Fables of Kâsyapa or rather the moral verses (*gâthas*) which served as a *memoria technica* to them were probably carried over to Ceylon in 241 B.C. along with the Jâtakas. About 300 years later (say 50 A.D.) some 100 of these were brought by a Cingalese embassy to Alexandria, where they were translated under the title of "Libyan Fables," which had been earlier

* Not to be confounded with Buddha's chief disciple of the same name, for whom see Mr. Rhys-Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 59, 61, 189. The identity of name may have helped the more easy appropriation of Kâsyapa's *Itihâsas*.

applied to similar stories that had percolated to Hellas from India; they were attributed to "Kybises." This collection seems to have introduced the habit of summing up the teaching of a Fable in the Moral, corresponding to the *gātha* of the Jātakas. About the end of the first century A.D. the Libyan Fables of "Kybises" became known to the Rabbinic school at Jabne founded by R. Jochanan ben Saccai and a number of the Fables translated into Aramaic and are still extant in the Talmud and Midrash.

In the Roman world the two collections of Demetrius and "Kybises" were brought together by Nicostratus, a rhetor attached to the court of Marcus Aurelius. In the earlier part of the next century (c. 230 A.D.) this *Corpus* of the ancient fable, Æsopic and Lybian, amounting in all to some 300 members, was done into Greek verse with Latin accentuation (choliambics) by Valerius Babrius, tutor to the young son of Alexander Severus. Still later, towards the end of the fourth century, forty-two of these, mainly of the Libyan section, were translated into Latin by one Avian, with whom the ancient history of the Fable ends.

In the Middle Ages it was naturally the Latin Phædrus that represented the Æsopic Fable to the learned world. A selection of some eighty fables was turned into indifferent prose in the ninth century, probably at the Schools of Charles the Great.* This was attributed to a fictitious Romulus. Another collection by Ademar of Chabannes was made before 1030, and still preserves some of the lines of the lost Fables of Phædrus. The Fables became especially popular among the Normans. A number of them occur on the Bayeux Tapestry, and in the twelfth century England, the head of the Angevin empire, became the home of the Fable, all the important adaptations and versions of Æsop being made in this country. One of these done into Latin verse by Walter the Englishman became the standard Æsop of mediæval Christendom. The same history applies in large measure to the Fables of Avian, which were done into prose, transferred back into Latin verse, and sent forth through Europe from England.†

* *Cf.* Ebert, *Allg. Litt. d. Mittelalters*, ii. 32, 54.

† I should perhaps have made some reference to a collection (*Speculum Sapientiæ*) associated with the name of St. Cyril, which is the most original of the mediæval sets

Meanwhile Babrius had been suffering the same fate as Phædrus. His scazons were turned into poor Greek prose, and selections of them passed as the original Fables of Æsop. Some fifty of these were selected, and with the addition of a dozen Oriental fables, were attributed to an imaginary Persian sage, Syntipas; this collection was translated into Syriac, and thence into Arabic, where they passed under the name of the legendary Lôqman (probably a doublet of Balaam). A still larger collection of the Greek prose versions got into Arabic, where it was enriched by some 60 fables from the Arabic Bidpai and other sources, but still passed under the name of Æsop. This collection, containing 164 fables, was brought to England after the Third Crusade of Richard I., and translated into Latin by an Englishman named Alfred, with the aid of an Oxford Jew named Berachyah ha Nakdan, who, on his own account, translated a number of the fables into Hebrew rhymed prose, under the Talmudic title

of fables. Graesse has shown that it is of the thirteenth century. Why then does he still style it, with Nicholas of Pergamus' *Dialogus Creaturarum*, (of the fourteenth) *Die beiden ältesten latein. Fabelbücher d. Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1880)?

Mishle Shu'alim (Fox Fables). Part of Alfred's Æsop was translated into English alliterative verse, and this again was translated about 1220 into French by Marie de France, who attributed the new fables to King Alfred. After her no important addition was made to the mediæval Æsop.*

With the invention of printing the European book of Æsop was compiled by Heinrich Stainhöwel, who put together the Romulus with selections from Avian, some of the Greek prose versions from Ranuzio's translation, and a few from Alfred's Æsop. To these he added the legendary life of Æsop and a selection of somewhat loose tales from Petrus Alphonsus and Poggio Bracciolini, corresponding to the Milesian and Sybaritic tales which were associated with the Fable in antiquity. Stainhöwel translated all this into German, and within twenty years his collection had been turned into French, English (by Caxton, the book before us), Italian, Dutch, and Spanish. Additions were made to

* The popularity of Æsop in the Middle Ages was due to the general predilection for allegorical teaching. This can be traced to the need of symbolical exegesis of the Old Testament. Cf. Diestel, *Gesch. d. alt. Test. in christl. Kirche*, 1869.

it by Brandt and Waldis in Germany, by L'Estrange in England, and by Lafontaine in France; these were chiefly from the larger Greek collections published after Stainhöwel's day, and, in the case of Lafontaine, from Bidpai and other Oriental sources. But these additions have rarely taken hold, and the Æsop of modern Europe is in large measure Stainhöwel's, even to the present day. Selections from it passed into spelling and reading books, and made the Fables part of modern European folk-lore.*

We may conclude this history of Æsop with a similar account of the progress of Æsopic investigation. First came collection; the Greek Æsop was brought together by Neveletus in 1610, the Latin by Nilant in 1709. The main truth about the former was laid down by the master-hand of Bentley; the equally great critic Lessing began to unravel the many knotty points connected with the mediæval Latin Æsop. His

* An episode in the history of the modern Æsop deserves record, if only to illustrate the law that Æsop always begins his career as a political weapon in a new home. When a selection of the Fables were translated into Chinese in 1840 they became favourite reading with the officials, till a high dignitary said, "This is clearly directed against *us*," and ordered Æsop to be included in the Chinese *Index Expurgatorius* (R. Morris, *Cont. Rev.* xxxix. p. 731).

investigations have been carried on and completed by three Frenchmen in the present century, Robert, Du Méril, and Hervieux; while three Germans, Crusius, Benfey, and Mall, have thrown much needed light on Babrius, on the Oriental Æsop, and on Marie de France.* Lastly, an Englishman has in the present pages brought together these various lines of inquiry, and by adding a few threads of his own,† has been able to weave them all for the first time into a consistent pattern, which, he is painfully aware, is sadly wanting in grace and finish, but which, he trusts, will not need henceforth to be entirely unravelled.

So much for the past of the Fable. Has it a future as a mode of literary expression? Scarcely; its method is at once too simple and too roundabout. Too roundabout; for the truths we have to tell we prefer to speak out directly

* These are the chief names; others, like Landsberger, Wagener, and Oesterley, approach them near. The Index contains, I believe, every name that has contributed any suggestion of importance to Æsopic research.

† For these see Preface, p. xvi. I might have added some hundreds of new parallels recorded during the course of this essay and in the Appendix and Synopsis. But these crop up as part of the day's work with every serious student, and, apart from their bearing on some general line of argument, are merely Curiosities of Literature.

and not by way of allegory. And the truths the Fable has to teach are too simple to correspond to the facts of our complex civilisation; its rude *graffiti* of human nature cannot reproduce the subtle gradations of modern life. But as we all pass through in our lives the various stages of ancestral culture, there comes a time when these rough sketches of life have their appeal to us as they had for our forefathers. The allegory gives us a pleasing and not too strenuous stimulation of the intellectual powers; the lesson is not too complicated for childlike minds. Indeed, in their grotesque grace, in their quaint humour, in their trust in the simpler virtues, in their insight into the cruder vices, in their innocence of the fact of sex, Æsop's Fables are as little children. They are as little children, and for that reason they will for ever find a home in the heaven of little children's souls.

APPENDIX.*

THE ARABIC ÆSOP (PARIS MS.).

MS. Supplemente Arabe, No. 1644. On Title page in pencil "Fables d'Esope." Rather modern manuscript. Headings in red. Each fable *is repeated twice*. The *story* is generally the same; but the *moral* different. The second redaction seems generally to be shorter than the first.

LIST OF FABLES.

1. Eagle and Fox (Ro. i. 13, Synt. 24, Soph. 25). 2. Fox and Goat (Re. 3, *cf.* 79). 3. Eagle and Scarabæus (? Ro. i. 14). 4. Fox and Lion (? Ro. i. 4, Soph. 26, *cf.* 109). 5. Nightingale and Sparrow-Hawk (Ro. iii. 5). 6. Weasel and Hen (? Re. 4). 7. Fox [commences "A fox was made prisoner in a net. Its tail was cut off and it fled; and on account of its great shame it made use of a stratagem, &c."] (Halm, 46). 8. Fox and Hanging-Lamp. 9. Hens and Partridge (Halm, 22). 10. Hunter of Birds and the Viper (Halm, 275). 11. Fox and Crocodile (Halm,

* Kindly communicated by Dr. R. Gottheil, who desires it to be understood that the translation of the titles is merely tentative, as he had no time to study the contents of the MS. or revise the translation. I have added identifications of about two-thirds of the Fables, so far as the mere titles rendered this possible.

37). 12. The Writing Beast (? ?). 13. Fox [commences "A fox went into the shop of a certain man, &c."] (? Ro. ii. 14). 14. Conceited man (Halm, 203). 15. Charcoal-burner and Fuller (Halm, 59). 16. He who promised that which was impossible. 17. Frogs (? Ro. ii. 1). 18. Two Hunters (? Av. 8). 19. Old Man and Death (Halm, 90, Synt. 2, Soph, 3). 20. Decrepit Old Man and Physician (*cf.* 30). 21. Husbandman and his Children (? Ex. v. 13). 22. Man and Dogs (? Halm, 95). 23. Widow and Hen (? Av. 24, Loq. 12, Soph. 61). 24. Wicked Man (Halm, 55). 25. The Accidents of Fortune (? Halm, 316). 26. Enemies (Halm, 144). 27. Mouse and Cat (? Re. 8, Soph. 39). 28. Fox and Louse (? Æsop's Fable, *supra*, p. 28). 29. Dolphin and Fish (Halm, 116). 30. Physician and Sick-man (Halm, 169, *cf.* 20, 39). 31. Dog and Wolf (Ro. iii. 15). 32. Dog and Hen (Halm, 225). 33. Lion and Gift (or fetter). 34. Cook and Dog (Halm, 232). 35. Lion, Ass, and Fox (*Ass' Heart*, xxi.). 36. Lion and Bear (? Halm, 247). 37. Butcher. 38. Dove and Ant (Re. 11). 39. Sick-man and Physician (*cf.* 30). 40. Ass and Husbandman (Ro. iii. 18). 41. Hunter and Sparrow. 42. Executor (?). 43. Young Man and his Mother (Re. 14, *cf.* 136). 44. Tiller and the Sea (Halm, 94). 45. Pomegranate and Apple. 46. Peacock and the Raven (Ro. ii. 15, Soph. 56). 47. Sow and the Fox (? Ro. ii. 4). 48. Mole (? Furia, 177). 49. Bad Grapes and the Chamois. 50. Swallow and the Bat. 51. Bird and the Child (? *Kalila*, c. ix.). 52. Hornets and ?. 53. Hares and Frogs (Ro. ii. 8). 54. Ass and Horse (Ro. iii. 3). 55. Tortoise and Eagle (Av. 2). 56. Lover of Gold (Halm, 412). 57. Goose and the Sparrow-hawk (? Halm, 170). 58. Man and the Flea (Re. 15). 59. Men and Stag. 60. Stag and Mortar (? Halm, 227). 61. Stag and Lion (Halm, 128, 129). 62.

The Lion, Ass, and the Hen (Halm, 323). 63. Dog and the Husbandman (? Soph. 67). 64. Sow and the Bitch (Halm, 409). 65. Lion and the Wolf (? Halm, 255). 66. Serpent and the Lobster (*cf.* 144). 67. Tiller and the Wolf (? Halm, 283). 68. Eagle and the Geese. 69. Lobster and the Fox (? Halm, 36). 70. Man and his Wife [commencing: "A woman had a drunken husband, &c."] (Halm, 108). 71. The Abyssinian (Loq. 17, 23, Soph. i. 59). 72. Divining Woman (? Halm, 112). 73. Woman and her Slaves (? Halm, 110). 74. Cricket (? Halm, 400). 75. Snail (? Halm, 214). 76. Cat and the ?. 77. Tiller. 78. Wolves and the Honey. 79. Goat and the Wolf (*cf.* 2). 80. Two Men [commences: "Two men were walking on a road when one of them found a bird. Then the other one turned to him, &c."]. 81. Man and the Dogs. 82. Singer. 83. Raven and Serpent (Halm, 207). 84. Raven [commences: "A man seized a raven and bound its foot, &c."]. 85. Man and Savage (Av. 22). 86. Hermes (?) and Zeus (?) (Furia, 365). 87. Wolf and Darkness. 88. Robber and Hen (Halm, 195). 89. Hares. 90. Ant [commences "In olden times they imagined that the ant was formerly a dissatisfied husbandman, &c."] 91. Raven and Turtle-dove. 92. Ass and Fox (? Ro. iv. 13). 93. Ass and Raven (? Halm, 330). 94. Wild Ass (Halm, 321). 95. Hen and Swallow. 96. Serpent. 97. Dove. 98. Raven and its Mother (Ro. i. 19). 99. Ass and ? 100. Ass and Frogs (Halm, 327). 101. Collectors (?). 102. Ass and Fox (? Ro. iv. 13, *cf.* 92). 103. Camel and Men (? Halm, 180). 104. Dove and Raven. 105. Rich Man and his two Sons. 106. Tiller. 107. Eagle (? Halm, 4). 108. Hunter and Fish (? Av. 16). 109. Lion and Fox (*cf.* 4, Soph. 45). 110. Man and Image (Ro. 6, Soph. 52). 111. Olive and Standard (or "boundary-post"?) (? Halm, 124). 112. Eye-tooth (?) and Sparrow-Hawk.

113. Man, Dog, and their Fellows. 114. Foolish Hunter. 115. Bulls and Lion (Av. 14, Synt. 13, Soph. 17). 116. Circle (?) and Fox (? Ro. ii. 14). 117. Man and Hen (Synt. 27, Soph. 30). 118. Cricket and Ant (Ro. iv. 17, Synt. 1, Soph. 2). 119. Goat and Eye-Tooth (?). 120. Plougher and Serpent (Ro. i. 10). 121. Bear and Old Woman. 122. Trumpet-blower (Av.-Ellis, 39). 123. Mule (Halm, 157). 124. Ass. 125. Man and Woman. 126. Man and his Daughter. 127. Camel and Lion. 128. Lion and Pig. 129. Lion and Mouse (Ro. i. 18, Soph. 27). 130. Young Man and his Mother (*cf.* 43). 131. Fox and Thorn-bush (Ro. 5). 132. Raven and Fox (Ro. i. 15). 133. Two Fishes. 134. Bustard. 135. Gazelle. 136. Two Imbeciles. 137. Man and Scorpion (? Soph. 34). 138. Camel (Halm, 180-2). 139. Astronomer (Halm, 72). 140. Ox. 141. Ass. 142. Dog. 143. Serpent and Plougher (? Ro. ii. 10, Loq. 24, Soph. 12). 144. Boa and Lobster (*cf.* 66).

INDEX OF FABLES.

Ro. = four books of "Romulus"; Ex. V. = Extravagantes, here Book V.; Re. = Remicius; Av. = Avian; Al. = Alphonsi; Po. = Poggio; asterisks mark illustrations; Arabic figures indicate pages of vol. ii.

ANDROCLUS, *see* Lion and shepherd
Ant and fly, Ro. II., xviii. 55
Ant and dove, Re., xi. 206
Ant and grasshopper, Ro. IV., xvii. 123
Ape and fox, Ro. III., xvii. 94
Ape and son, Av., xi. 229
Ape and two children, Av., xxv. 246
Ass and boar, *see* Lion and ass
Ass and horse, Ro. III., iii. 67
Ass and lion, Ro. IV., x. 115
Ass and sick lion, *see* Lion, wild boar, &c.
Ass and wolf, Ro. IV., xiii. 119
*Ass and lap-dog, Ro. I., xvii. 24
*Ass in lion's skin, Av., iv. 219

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Blind man and wife, Al., xii. 285
Boar and wolf, Ex. V., ii. 130
Bush and rubber tree, Av., xv. 234 [Fir and bramble]
Butcher and wethers, Ro IV., vi. 109

CAMEL and flea, Ro. IV., xvi. 122
Camel and Jupiter, Av., vii. 224 [asking for horns]
Carpenter, Re., xiii. 208
Cat and chicken, Re., iv. 197
Cat and rat, Re., viii., 202
Cock and precious stone, Ro. I., i. 4
Crabs, old and young, Av., iii. 218
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*Crow and pitcher, Av., xx. 240

DEBTOR, Po., [ix.] 310
Disciple and sheep, Al., viii. 274
Dog and shadow, Ro. I., v. 10
Dog and sheep, Ro. I., iv. 8
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Dog, wolf, and wether, Ex.V., xv. 180
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Dragon and hare, Ex.V., iv. 134
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EAGLE and fox, Ro. I., xiii. 19
Eagle and raven, Re., i. 191
Eagle and weasel, Re., ii. 193
Eagle with nut and raven, Ro. I., xiv. 20
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Father and bad son, Ro. III., xi. 84
Father and three sons, Ex.V., xiii. 172
Fellows, two, Av., viii. 225
Fir and bramble, *see* Bush and aubier
Fisher, Re., vii. 201
Fisher and little fish, Av., xvi. 235
Flea and man, Re., xv. 212
Fox and bush, Re., v. 199
Fox and cat, Ex.V., v. 137
Fox and cock, Ex.V., iii. 132
Fox, cock, and dogs, Po., vii. 307
Fox and crow, *see* Raven and fox
Fox and goat, Re., iii. 195
*Fox and grapes, Ro. IV., i. 109
Fox and lion, Ro. IV., xii. 117
Fox and mask, *see* Wolf and skull
*Fox and stork, Ro. II., xiii. 49
Fox and wolf, Ro. III., vi. 74
Fox, wolf, and lion, Ex.V., ix. 149
Friendship, rare, Al., i. 247
Frog and fox, Av., v. 221
*Frogs and Jupiter, Ro. II., i. 32

GENOESE, Po. [x.] 312
*Goat and wolf, Ex.V., vi. 139
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HARES and frogs, Ro. II., viii. 42
Hart and hunter, Ro. III., vii. 76
Hart and ox, Ro. III., xix. 96
Hart, sheep, and wolf, Ro. II., xi. 47
Hawk and birds, Ro. IV., xi. 116
Hedgehog and kids, Ro. IV., xiv. 120
Horse, hunter, and hart, Ro. IV., ix. 113
Hunter and tiger, Av., xiii. 231
Hunting and hawking, Po., iv. 297
*Husband and two wives, Re., xvi. 213
Husband, wife, and mother-in-law, Al., x. 279

JAY and peacock, Ro. II., xv. 52
Juno, peacock, and nightingale, Ro. IV., iv. 105

Juno, Venus, and goddesses, Ro. III., viii. 78

KING of apes, Ro. IV., viii. 111
King log and king stork, *see* Frogs desiring king
Knight and servant, Ex.V., xvii. 183
Knight and [Ephesian] widow, Ro. III., ix. 79

LABOURER and children, Re., xvii. 215
Labourer and nightingale, Al., vi. 269
Labourer and pielarg, Re., ix. 204
Lion and ape, Ro. III., xx. 98
Lion and ass, Ro. I., xi. 16
Lion and bull, Av., x. 228
Lion, cow, goat, and sheep, Ro. I., vi. 11 [Lion's share]
Lion and goat, Av., xix. 239
Lion and horse, Ro. III., ii. 65
Lion and rat (mouse), Ro. I., xviii. 26
Lion and shepherd, Ro. III., i. 62 [Androclus]
Lion and statue, *see* Man and lion
Lion, wild boar, bull, and ass, Ro. I., xvi. 22
Lye of oil, Al., iii. 259

MAN, good, and serpent, Ro. II., x. 45
Man and lion, Ro. IV., xv. 121 [statue]
Man, lion, and son, Ex.V., xvi. 183
Man and serpent, Ro. I., x. 15
Man and weasel, Ro. II., xix. 59
Man and wood, Ro. III., xiv. 89
Man and wood-god, Re., vi. 200
Marriage of sun, *see* Thief and sun
Merchant and ass, Ro. III., xviii. 95
Milvan and mother, Ro. I., xix. 28
Money found, Al., iv. 263
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Monsters, Po., v. 301
Mountain in labour, Ro. II., v. 38
Mouse, town and country, Ro. I., xii. 17
Mule, fox, and wolf, Ex.V., i. 128
Mule and fly, Ro. II., xvi. 54

NIGHTINGALE and sparrow-hawk, Ro. III., v. 72
Nulla vestigia, *see* Fox and lion

OAK and reeds, *see* Tree and reeds
Ox and frog, Ro. II., xx. 61
Ox and rat, Av., xxiii. 244
Oxen, four (and lion), Av., xiv. 233

PALMER and satyr (blew hot and cold), Av., xxii. 242
Panther and villains, Ro. IV. v. 107
Parson, dog, and bishop, Po., vi. 305
Phœbus, avaricious and envious man, Av., xvii. 236
Pilgrim and sword, Ro. IV., xviii. 128
Pillmaker, Po., [xi.] 313
Piper turned fisherman, *see* Fisher

Pot, copper and earthen, Av., ix. 227
Priests, worldly and unworldly, Caxton, 315

RAT and frog, Ro. I., iii. 7
Raven and fox, Ro. I., xv. 21
Rhetorician and crookback, Al., vii. 272

SATYR and man, *see* Palmer and satyr
Serpent and file, Ro. III., xii. 86
Serpent and labourer, Ev.V., viii. 144
Sheep and crow, Ro IV., xix. 125
Shepherd boy (wolf!), Re., x. 205
Sow and wolf, Ro. II., iv. 37
Stag in oxstall, *see* Hart and ox
Swallow and birds, Ro. I., xx. 29

TAILOR and king, Al., xiii. 288
Thief and dog, Ro. II., iii. 35
Thief and mother, Re., xiv. 210
Thief and sun, Re. I., vii. 12
Thief and weeping child, Av., xviii. 238
Tortoise and birds, Av., ii. 217
Town and country mouse, *see* Mouse
Tree and reed, Ro. IV., xx. 126

VILLAIN and young bull, Av., xxi. 243
Viper and file, *see* Serpent and file

WEASEL and rat, Ro. IV., ii. 102
Widow, Po., [xii.] 314
Wind and earthen pot, Av., xxvi., 247
Wolf and ass, Ex.V., vii. 141
Wolf and crane, Ro. I., viii. 13
Wolf and dog, Ro. III., xv. 90
Wolf and fox, Ex.V., xiv. 176
Wolf, fox, and ape, Ro. II., xviii. 57
Wolf and hungry dog, Ex.V., xii. 166
Wolf and kid, Ro. II., ix. 44
Wolf, labourer, fox, and cheese, Al., ix. 276
Wolf and lamb, Ro. I., ii. 5
Wolf and lamb, Ro. II., vi. 30 [and goat]
Wolf and lamb, Av., xxvii., 248 [kid]
Wolf and nurse, *see* Woman, old
Wolf, repentant, Ex.V., x. 156
Wolf, shepherd, and hunter, Ro. IV. iii., 103
Wolf and skull, Ro. II., xiv., 51
Wolves and sheep, Ro. III., xiii. 87
Woman and Holy Ghost, Po., i. 292
Woman and hypocrite, Po., ii. 294
Women, old, and wolf, Av., i. 216
Women, two, Po., [viii.] 309

YOUNG man and whore, Ro. III., x. 82
Young woman and husband, Po., iii. 296

SYNOPSIS OF PARALLELS.

"*So the tales were told ages before Æsop; and asses under lion's manes roared in Hebrew; and sly foxes flattered in Etruscan; and wolves in sheep's clothing gnashed their teeth in Sanskrit, no doubt.*"—THACKERAY, *Newcomes*, ch. i.

[UNLESS otherwise mentioned, the whole of the Fables are found in the same order and with the same enumeration in the German of Stainhöwel, the Latin by Sorg, the Dutch *Esopus*, Spanish *Ysopo*, the Italian of Tuppo, and the French of Machault. The same applies to 'Romulus' for the first four books. The arrangement of Parallels is—I. *The Orient*; II. *Classical Antiquity*, including the Greek prose versions ("Æsop," ed. Halm) which belong to; III. *Mediæval*, to the invention of printing; IV. *Modern Foreign*, including a few writers like Boccaccio, who would belong formally to preceding period: my secondary sources are given at the end of this section; V. *Modern English*. The ancient and mediæval parallels are given nearly *in extenso*; for later appearances in Continental collections reference is made to Oesterley and Robert, who give the Teutonic and Romance literatures respectively: a few items of literary interest are sometimes selected from these sources. The English parallels are mainly from the collections of Ogilby (Og.), L'Estrange (L.), Croxall (C.), James (J.), Townsend (T.), Caldecott (Cald.), and Crane (Cr.); the last only by page, the rest by number. Mav. indicates that the Fables to which it is appended occur in Mavor's Spelling Book. As a specimen of what I might have inflicted on the reader I have treated *The Wolf and Crane* (Ro. I. viii.) with some fulness, giving

the editions I have used. This and the Index and Pedigree may supply the place of a bibliographical list. Many of the fables are discussed or referred to in the Introduction: for these see Index.

LIBER PRIMUS.

Ro. I. Prologue.

['Romulus, son of Thybere,' was possibly a common noun at the beginning, representing the tradition that some Roman had translated the Fables from the Greek. As a matter of fact, the four books associated with the name of 'Romulus' are simply paraphrases of Phædrus.]

Ro. I., i.—Cock and Precious Stone.

I. Bidpai, ed. Galland, iii. 157; Sadi, ed. Graf, 101. II. Phred., iii. 12. III. Rufus, v. 6, 7; Ademar, 1; Marie de France, 7; Berachyah Hanakdan, *Mishle Shu'alim* (Heb.), 4; Ysopet, I. 1 (Robert, i. 82); *Hidoth Izopiti* (Heb.) 1; Galfred, 1; Wright, i. 1; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum morale*, 30; Boner, *Edelstein*,* 1; Bromyard, *Summa Predicant*, A. 26, 32. IV. Rabelais, i. prol.; Luther, *Fabeln*, 1; Waldis, *Esopus*, i. 1; Kirchhof, *Wendenmuth*, vii. 3; Lafontaine, i. 20; Lessing, *Fabeln*, ii. 9; Krilof, ii. 18; Robert, i. 81; Oesterley on Kirchhof; Steinschneider, *Ysopet*, 301; De Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.*, ii. 291. V. Bacon, *Essays* xiii.; L. 1, C. 1, J. 13, T. 44; Cald. 13; Cr. 10. *Cf.* W. C. Hazlitt. *Eng. Proverbs. A barleycorn*, &c.

Ro. I., ii.—The Wolf and the Lamb.

I. *Dipi Jātaka, supra* V., p. 62-4; Kahgbur, iv. 87; Schiefner (tr. Ralston) *Tibet. Tales*, xxix.; Bleek, *Reinike Fuchs in Afrika*, xxv. (in Madagascar). *Cf.* Tutinameh, ed. Rosen, i. 229. II. Æsop. Halm, 274; Babrius, 89; Phæd., i. 1. III. Bayeux Tapestry (e Comte), pl. iv.; Ruf., i. 1; Adem., 3; Vinc. Bell., *spec. hist.*, 2, 3; *doct.*, 4, 114;

* Boner's collection received its title from this fable. Cf. Carlyle *Miscell.* ii. 280.

Galf., 2; Bromyard, A., 12. 45; Neckam, 10; *Dial Creat.*, 51; Odo de Cerington, 67; Marie, 2; Berachyah, 3; Ysop., I. 2, II. 10 (Rob., I. 58, 60); *Isopiti* (Heb.), 2; Gabrias, 35; Wright, *Latin Stories* (Percy Soc.), App. I., i. 2; Boner, 5. IV. H. Sachs, i. 5, p. 485; Geller, *Narrenschiff*, 78; Luther, 2; Waldis, i. 2; Krilof, i. 13; Lafontaine, i. 10; Robert, *ad. loc.*; Kirchhof, i. 57 (vii. 37); Oesterley, *ad. loc.*; Kurz, *ad. loc.* V. Shakespeare, *Henry IV.*, i. 8, L. 3, C. 2, Mavor 6. J. 27, T. 1. Cald., 2; Cr. 10.

Ro. I., iii.—Rat and Frog.

I. Anvari Suhaili tr. Eastwick, 133 (Bent., i. 223); Talmud, *Nedar*, 41a (Bacher, *Agada d. Amor.*, 42, Gaster, *Beitr.*, ix.); Wagener-Weber, No. 9 [Frog and Scorpion]; Bidpai, 3, p. 87. II. Æsop. Halm, 298; Babrius-Gitlb., 182; Phæd., Burm. *App.*, 6; Dositheus, 6. III. Rufus, i. 34 Adem., 4; Vinc. Bell., *s. hist.*, iii. 2; *doct.*, iv. 114; Galf., 3; Wright, i. 3; Neckam, 6; Bromyard, P. 13. 37; Odo, 19; *Dial. Creat.*, 107; *Scala celi.*, 73; *Exemplos*, 301; Marie, 3; Berachyah, 2; Ysop., I. 3, II. 6 (R. i. 259, 261); *Isopiti*, 3; Boner, 6; Hita, 397; Deschamps, *poésies*, 196. IV. Waldis, i. 3; Kurz, *ad. loc.*; Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, vii. 71; Oesterley, *ad. loc.*; Luther, 3; Lafontaine, iv. 11; Rob., *ad. loc.*; Steinschneider, *Ysopet*, 360; Méril, 180. V. L. 4, T. 53.

Ro. I., iv.—Dog and Sheep.

II. Phæd., i. 17. III. Ruf., i. 2; Adem., 5; Wright, i. 4; Marie, 4; Berachyah, 7; *Isopiti*, 4; Bromyard, P. 2, 3; Neckam, 15; Galf., 4; Boner, 7. IV. Luther, 4; Wald., i. 48; Oesterley on Rom., i. 4; Steinschneider, *Ysopet*, 360; Méril, 158. V. C. 130, T. 68.

Ro. I., v.—Dog and Shadow.

I. *Culladhanuggaha Jātaka*, *supra* III. pp. 58–60; Wagener-Weber, No. 4; *Avadanas* Julien, ii. 6, 11; *Pantschatantra*, iv. 8 and plls.; Lōqman, 41; Sophos, 31; Tutinameh,

ii. 4, 117, 265. II. Æsop. H., 233; Babr., 79; Democritus, fr. ed. Müll., 169; Syntipas, 26; Dositheus, 11; Phæd., i. 4; Aphthon., 35. III. Gab., 28; Vinc. Bell., *hist.*, iii. 2; *doct.*, iv. 115; *Dial. Creat.*, 100; Bromyard, A. 27, 14; Wright, i. 5; Neck., 13; Marie, 5; Ysopet, i. 5; ii. 11; Galf., 5; Berach., 5; *Isopiti*, 5; Hita, 216. IV. Fischart, *Gargantua*, 36; Luther, 5; Lafontaine, vi. 17; *cf.* vii. 4; Robert, *ad. loc.*; Wald., i. 4; Kirchhof, ii. 35 (vii. 129); Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 426; Oesterley, *ad. loc.*; Steins., *Ysopet*, 362; Kurz, *ad loc.*; Ogilby, 2; V. L. 6, C. 5, J. 24, T. 118; Mav. 4; Cr. 37.

Ro. I., vi.—Lion's Share.

I. *Ausland*, 1859, p. 927 (among Tuaregs in North Africa, Benf. i. 354). II. Æsop, H. 258; Phæd., i. 5; Babr., 67; Abstem., 186. III. Ruf., i. 7; Adem., 9; Vinc. Bell., *hist.*, 3. 2; *doct.*, 4, 116; *Dial. Creat.*, Marie, 11, 12; Berachyah 12, 52; Ysopet, I. 6, II. 9 (Rob. i. 34, 36); *Isop.* (Heb.), 6; Bromy., M. 9, 2; Neck., 9; Wright, i. 6, 7; Galf., 6; Boner, 8. IV. Luther, 6; *Reineke*, 5412-86; Waldis, i. 5; Kirch., vii, 23 (24); Oesterley, *ad. loc.*; Lessing, *Fabeln*, ii. 26; Goethe, xl. 182; Goedeke, *Mittelalter*, 641; Steins., *Ysop.*, 360; Méril, 183. V. L. 7, C. 6, J. 97; Cald., 10. Cf. expr. "lion's share."

Ro. I., vii.—Thief and Sun.

II. Æsop, H. 77; Phæd., i. 6; Babr., 24. III. Ruf., i. 8; Adem., 10; Bromy., D. 12, 21; *Scala*, 115; Marie, 6; Berach., 76; Ysop., i. 7; ii. 16; *Isop.* 7; Gabr., 20; Galf., 7; Neck., 17; Boner, 11. IV. Luther, 5; Waldis, iii. 61; Pauli, 498; Lafont., vi. 12; Oest. Steins. and Robert, *ad loc.*; Ghivizzani, i. p. 4; ii. p. 20; Méril, 189. V. J., 103 (marriage of sun).

Ro. I. viii.—Wolf and Crane.

I. The Orient: *Jātasakuna Jātaka* (Lion and Crane), supra I. pp. 55, 56 (V. Fausböll, *Five Jātakas*, pp. 35-38);

Schiefner, *Thibetan Tales* (tr. Ralston), No. xxiii. *The Ungrateful Lion* (and Woodpecker); De la Loubère, *Royaume de Siam*, Amsterd., 1691, ii. 20* (*ap.* Grimm, *Reineke Fuchs*, cclxxxi.); Wagener, *Mém. Bruss. Acad.*, 1854, No. xiv.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iii. 350; *Bereshith Rabba*, c. 64, *ad fin. supra*, pp. 117–118 (Lion for Wolf) (Wuehsche, *Bibl. rabb.*, i. 308); Bochart, *Hieroz.*, I. xii.; Dukes *Isr. Ann.*, 1839, p. 244; Dr. Back, *ap.* Graetz, *Monatsft.*, 1876, 197–204; Lewysohn, *Zool. d. Talm.*, 375; Hamburger, *Realencycl. d. Talm.*, s.v. *Fabel*; Landsberger, *Fabeln des Sophos*, p. xxx.; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden.*, iv.² 142; Steinschneider, *Jahrb. rom. eng. Phil.* neue Folge, i. 363.

II. CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY: Phædr., i. 8, ed. Riese (Wolf) *supra*, p. 7; Babrius, ed. Rutherford, 94, ed. Gitlbauer, *ib.* (Heron); Gk. prose Æsop, ed. Coraes, 144, (*ter.* cf. p. 312), ed. Furia, 94, 102, ed. Halm, 276b, Schneider, 153 (H. 276, Heron for Crane), Knoell, 84; Aphthonius, 25 [cf. tradition of crocodile and ichneumon, Herod., ii. 63 (Lang, *Euterpe*, 68); Aristot., *Hist. Anim.*, ix. 6; Ælian, iii. 7, viii. 25]; Gr. Proverb, ἐκ λόγου στόμαγος; Suidas, ii. 248.

III. MIDDLE AGES: Bayeux Tapestry, *Soc. Ant.*, pl. i.; Bruce, pl. i.; J. Comte, pl. vi.; *supra*, Frontisp. (cf. Du Méril, 142): Figured on portico St. Ursin's Cathedral, Bourges (Du Méril, 156); Gabrias (Ignatius, ed. Mueller) 36; Rufus, i. 9 (Hervieux, p. 236); Romulus, i. 8, ed. Oesterley; Ademar, 64 (Herv., 144 Anon. Nilant, *supra*, p. 8); Vienna Lat. MS., 305, 8 (Herv. 250); L. MS., 901, 7 (H. 287); Berlin MS. Lat. 8vo 87, 8 (H. 306); Berne MS., 4 (H. 382); Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxon., 7 (H. 367); Romulus of Nilant, 9 (Herv. 334); Romulus of Marie, 9 (Herv. 504, "LBG" of Mall); *Fabulae rhythmicae*, 9 (*ap.* Wright, *Latin Stories*, Percy Soc., App. i. 9, Herv. 441), Gulfred, ed. W. Förster, 8 (=Walter of England: "Anon. Neveleti," *ap.* Nevelet, *Myth. Æsop.*, p. 471, Herv. 338); Walterian, 8 (Herv. 429); Neckam, ed. Du Méril, 1 (Herv. 787, Rob. i.

* Told of Sommonacodom and Toritat = Sakyamuni and Devadatta.

194); Odo de Cerington, 10 (ed. Herv. 602); John of Sheppey, 6 (H. 757); Marie de France, ed. Roquefort, 7; Berachyah ha-Nakdan *Mishle Shu'alim* (Heb.), 8, p. 32, ed. Hanel; Ysopet, I. 8 (fr. Galfred; Robert, *Fables inédites*, i. 195, with plate); Ysopet, II. (fr. Neckam; Rob, *id.* 196); Ysopet of Lyons, ed. Foerster, 8 (fr. Galfred); Ysopet of Clarges, ed. Duplessis, 1 (fr. Neckam); *Hidoth Izopiti*, 8 (*ap.* Steins., *l.c.*); *Libro de los Gatos*, ed. Guayangos, 2 (fr. Odo: *Bibl. autores Espán. escritor. anter al Siglo*, xv. p. 543); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, iii. 2; *doctrinale*, iv. 116; Boner, *Edelstein*, 11 (Minne Zinger, 11); Reineke Fuchs, ed. Grimm, p. 346; Hugo v. Trimberg, *Renner*, f. 14 (Méril) v. 1976, *seq.* (Kurz); Nicol. Pergam. *Dialogus Creat.* 110.

IV. MODERN FOREIGN—*Germ.*: Stainhöwel, f. 29[b]; Luther, *Fabeln*, 9, p. 12, ed. Thiele, 1688; H. Schoppfer, *Vulpecula*, iii. 11, *ap. Del. poet. germ.*; Posthius, 126, *ibid.*; Kirchhof, *Wendenmuth*, vii. 42, ed. Oesterley (Stuttg. Litt. Ver. Bnd., 99); H. Sachs, IV. iii. 222; Er. Alberus, 29; Freitag, 15, *Philathic*: Waldis, *Esopus*, ed. Kurz, i. 6; Goethe, *Reineke Fuchs*, *ap. Werke*, xl. 176. *Fr.*: Machault, *Ésope*, i. 8; *Mer d. Histoires*, 1488, 5; Haudent, 1547, 117; Cognatus, 1567, *Narrat. sylva*, p. 67; Corrozet, 1587, 6; Desprez, *Theat. d. anim.*, 1620, 51; Lafontaine (*Loup et Cicogne*), iii. 9, ed. Robert, No. 51, i. 193, ed. Regnier, t. i., p. 228; Benserade, 1676, 7; Faernus, 1697, 17; Le Noble, 1697, 8. *Ital.*: Tuppo *Isopo*, 8; Accio Zuccho, 1483, 8; Pavesio, *Targa*, 1576, 52; Guicciardini, *Detti*, 1566, p. 47; Verdizotti, *Favole*, 1577, 54. *Span.*: Infante Henrique, *Ysopo*, i. 8. *Dutch*: *Esopus*, i. 8. *Catalan*: *Faules de Ysop*, 1682, i. 8. *Russ.*: Krilof, vi. 12. *Authorities*: Grimm, Steinschneider, Robert, Kurz, Oesterley, Du Méril, Regnier, *Ll.cc.*

V. MODERN ENGLISH: Caxton, *Esope* f. 29[b] (here vol. ii. p. 13), *Reynart the Foxe*, ed. Arber, 88; L'Estrange, 8; Croxall, 7; James, 3; Townsend-Valentine (*Chand. Class.*), 121; W. Crane, *Baby's Æsop*, p. 52.

RO. I., ix.—TWO BITCHES.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 353. II. Æsop Camer., 191, 333; Just., xliii. 4; Ph., i. 19. III. Ruf., i. 10; Marie, 8; Berach., 9; Ysop., I. 9; II. 27; Galf., 9; Neck., 28; Wright, i. 10; *Izop*, 9 (Sanbader in Alsop 2). IV. Luther, 10; Kirch., vii. 42 (wrong ref.); Lafontaine, ii. 7; Robert, Steins., *ad loc.* V. L. 323, C. 10.

RO. I., x.—MAN AND SERPENT.

I. *Mahabharata*, ap. Holtzmann, *Ind. Sagen*², ii. 210 (Liebr.); *Panischatantra*, Dubois, 49, *cf.* Benf., i. 113–20; *Tutinameh*, No. 29. II. Æsop, 79; Phæd., iv. 19; Babr.—Gib., 215; Syntipas, 25. III. Ruf., iv. 1; Adem., 11 (woman); Petr. Alf., 7, 4; *Castoiement*, 3; Gering *Isl. Ævent.*; Vinc. Bell., *spec. mor.*, p. 885; *Scala*, 86; Bromyard, C., 4, 17; Odo., 33; Gabr., 42; *Dial. Creat.*, 24; *Gesta Rom.*, 174; Ysop., I. 10; *Izop.*, 10; Marie ap. Legrand *Fabl.*, iv. 193 (not in Roquefort); Galf., 10; *Enx.*, 240; Hita, 1322; *Reinaert*, ed. Grimm, 14; Boner, 13; Barelatu *Sermones*, 43. IV. Luther, *Tischreden*, 78; Charron, *De la sagesse*, i. 1; Wald., i. 7; *Wendenmuth*, v, 121; Reismer, *Emblem.*, 2, 22, 81; Lafont., vi. 13; Hagedorn, *Fabeln*, 44; Robert, Oesterley, *ad loc.*; Liebrecht, *JERP*, iii. 147. V. L. 9, J. 18, Og. 16, Cr. 27.

RO. I., xi.—LION AND ASS (Ass and Boar).

II. Phæd., i. 29. III. Ruf., i. 13; Adem., 12; Marie, 76; Ysop., I. 11; *Izop.*, 11; Galf., 11. IV. Luther, 12; Lafont., viii. 15 (*Le rat et l'elephant*); Wald., i. 8 (*cf.* 69); *Wendenmuth*, vii. 147 (wrong ref.); Robert, Steins., *ad loc.* V. *Og.* 11, J. 132, T. 22.

RO. I., xii.—TOWN AND COUNTRY MOUSE.

I. Bidpai-Wolff, i. 124. II. Æsop, 297; Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 6, 77; Phæd., App. Burm., iv. 9; Babr., 108; Aphthon.,

26. III. Ruf., ii. 1; Adem., 13; Marie, 9; Berach., 10; Ysop., I. 12; *Isop.*, 12; Galf., 12; *Dial. Creat.*, 113; Renard le Contrefait (Rob. i. 48); Odo, 15; Wright, i. 11; *Gatos*, 11. IV. Luther, 13; Fischart, *Flöhatz*, 1920, 4668; H. Sachs, 2, 4, 27; Wald., i. 9; Kirch., i. 62; Lafont., i. 9; Robert and Oesterley, *ad. loc.*; Goedeke, *Mit.*, 635. V. L. 11, C. 35, J. 29, T. 26, Pope.

Ro. I., xiii.—Eagle and Fox (Rom. ii. 8).

I. Benf., i. 170; Jacobs, *Bidpai*, Dg; Liebrecht *JERP*, iii. 155 (in W. Afr.); Vartan, 3; Sophos, ed. Landsberger, 24. II. Archilochus, *ap.* Furia, p. ccxiv., *seq.* i.; Aristoph., *Aves*, 652; Æsop, 5; Babr.-Gitl., 177; Phæd., i. 28; Syntipas, 24. III. Rom. ii. 8; * Ruf., ii. 2; Adem., 14; Marie, 10; Berach., 11; Ysop., I. 13, II. 22; *Isop.*, 15; Galf., 13; Bromyard, N., 4, 4; Wright, i. 12; Neck., 23. IV. H. Sachs, ii. 4, 95; Waldis, i. 59; Oest. on *Rom.* Kurz. V. L. 72, C. 13, T. 13; Calil., 16.

Ro. I., xiv.—Eagle and Raven.

I. Benf., *Pants.*, i. 241. II. Æsop., 415; Phæd., ii. 16, *cf.* Av., ii. III. Ruf., ii. 5; Marie, 13; Berach., 20; Galf., 14; Ysop., I. 14; *Isop.*, 16; Odo, 44; Wright, i. 13. IV. Waldis, i. 10; Kirchhof, *Wendenmuth*, vii. 173; Robert, Oest., and Steins., *ad. loc.*; De Gubernatis, ii. 197, 369. V. C. 134.

Ro. I., xv.—Raven and Fox (and Cheese).

I. *Jambu Jâkata, supra*, VII. pp. 65-6; Jami *Beharistan* (Vienna, 1778), p. 20; Vartan, 17; Joh. de Capua, i. 4. II. Æsop., 204; Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 5, 56; *Epp.*, i. 17, 20; Phæd., i. 13; Apuleius Flor., 23; Babr., 77; Aphthon., 29; Tzetz., *Chil.*, 10, 352. III. Gab., 25; Ruf., ii. 7; Adem.,

* Inserted here in Steinhöwel to make up twenty fables in first book; this puts the numeration out by one henceforth in Bk. i.

15; Bayeux, pl. iv., xvii.; *cf.* Alf., ix.; Vinc. Bell., *hist.*, 3, 3; *doct.*, 4, 117; Marie, 14 (51); Berach., 13; Galf., 15; Neck., 27; *Dial. Creat.*, 61; *Scala*, 6; Ysopet, I. 15, II. 26; *Isop.*, 17; *Rein. Fuchs*, Grimm, 358; Lucanor (W. York), 25; Cyril, *Spec. sap.*, i. 13; Hita, *Cantares*, 1411. IV. Luther, 14; *Farce de Pathelin*, 31; Waldis, i. 11; Kirch., vii. 30; Lafont., i. 2; Lessing, ii. 15; Krilof, i. 1; Rob., Oest., Steins., *ad. loc.*; De Gubernatis, ii. 251.* V. L. 13, C. 9; Cald., 1; Cr., 17; Hazlitt, *Prov.*, 389. 'The fox praiseth the meat out of the crow's mouth;' Thackeray, *Newcomes*, i.

RO. I., xvi.—LION SICK (AND ASS).

II. Phæd., i. 21. III. Rufus, ii. 8; Ademar, 16; Vinc. Bell., *hist.* 3, 3, *doct.* 4, 117; Marie, 15; Berach., 1; Ysop., I. 16; *Isop.*, 18; Galf., 16; *Dial. Creat.*, 110; Bromy., II. 4, 8; 5, 5, 3; Wright, i. 15. IV. Alciati, *emblemata*, 153; Wald., i. 12; Kirch., vii. 27; Lafont., iii. 14; Rob., Oest., Steins. V. C. 6, T. 31.

RO. I., xvii.—ASS AND LAP-DOG.

I. Benf., *Pants.*, i. 110; *Avadanas*, ii. 73; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iii. 352. II. Æsop., 331; Phæd. App. Burm., 10; Babr., 129. III. Rufus, ii. 10; Ademar, 17; Vinc. Bell., *hist.* 3, 3; *doct.* 4, 117; Marie, 16; Berach., 14; Ysop., I. 16, II. 4; *Isop.*, 14; Galf., 17; Neck., 5; *Gesta Rom.*, 79; Wright, i. 13; Holkot, 167; Boner, 10. IV. Lafont., iv. 5; Rob., Oest., Steins., Goedeke, *Mitt.*, 648; Liebr., JERP, iii. 146. V. L. 15, C. 124, J 56, T. 119; Hazlitt, 'An ass was never cut out for a lapdog.'

RO. I., xviii.—LION AND MOUSE.

I. *Cf.* Benf. *Pants.*, i. 324 *seq.*; Sophos, 23; Raju, *Ind. Fab.*, p. 119. II. Æsop., 256; Phædrus App. Burm., 4;

* 'The fox (the spring aurora) takes the cheese (the moon) from the crow (the winter night) by making it sing'!

Babr., 107; Julian, *Epist.*, 8. III. Ruf., ii. 11; Adem., 18; Vinc. Bell., *hist.* 3. 3; *dict.* 4. 120; Marie, 17; Berach., 15; Ysop., I. 18, II. 38; Gulf., 18; *Dial. Creat.*, 24; Bromy., i. 5. 4; Wright, *1.* 17; Neck., 41. IV. Clément Marot; Wald., i. 14; Kirch., vii. 20; Lafont., ii. 11; Rob., Oest., Steins.; Du Méril, 210; De Gub., ii. 68, 78. V. L. 303, C. 31, J. 31, T. 32; Cr., 14; Hazlitt, *Prov.*, 'A lion may be beholden to a mouse.'

Ro. I., xix.—The sick Mylan and Mother.

II. Æsop, 208; Phæd. App. Burm. 1; Babr., 78. III. Marie, 87; Ysop., I. 24; *Isop.*, 20; Gulf., 19. IV. Pauli, 283; Wald., i. 15; Oest., Steins. V. *Cf.* prov., *The Devil was sick*, &c.

Ro. I., xx.—Swallow and other Birds.

I. *Pants.*, i. app. 5 (Benf. ii. 139, i. 249). II. Æsop., 416; A. Gellius, ii. 29; Phæd., App. Burm. 7; Babr., 88; Avian, 21; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.*, 12, 72. III. Adem., 20; Gulf., 20; Marie, 18; Berach., 16; Ysop., I. 25, II. 27; Bayeux, pl. x.-xii.; *Dial. Creat.*, 119; Bromy., C., 11, 20; Neck., 18; Lucanor (W. York), 26; Wright, i. 18. IV. Wald., i. 16; Kirch., vii. 114; Lafont., i. 8; Rob., Oest., Benf. V. Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, ed. Jacobs, i. 86-7; L. 18, C. 157, T. 27.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

Ro. II. Proem.

[Merely an introduction to first Fable, tracing it back to Solon.]

Ro. II., i.—Frogs desiring King.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 384. II. Æsop, 76; Phæd., I. 2; Servius on Virg. *Georg.*, i. 378; Val. Max., ii. 2; Babr.-Gitl., 167, 232. III. Ruf., iii. 7; Adem., 21; Marie, 26; Berach.,

24; Ysop., I. 19; Reinaert, ed. Grimm, 2305-29; Galf., 21; Odo, 2; Wright, ii. 1; *Dial. Creat.*, 118; Neckam, *De Naturis*, 348, 387. IV. Luther, ed. Altenb., iii. 689; *Freidank*, 141, 23 *seq.*; H. Sachs, 2, 4, 104; Wald., i. 17; Kirch., vii. 157; Lafontaine, iii. 4; Lessing, ii. 13; Rob., Oest. V. L. 19, C. 3, J. 116, T. 56; Calê., 6; Cr. 12.

RO. II., ii.—DOVES, KITE, AND HAWK.

II. Phæd., i. 31. III. Ruf., iii. 8; Adem., 22; Marie, 27; Bersch., 44; Vinc. Bell., *mor.*, 1236; Wright, ii. 2; *stories*, 52; Bromy., A., 13, 6; Odo, 2; Galf., 22; Boner, 26. IV. Wald., i. 18; Kirch., vii. 146; Oest. V. L. 20, C. 16.

RO. II., iii.—THIEF AND DOG.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 608. II. Æsop., 62; Phæd., i. 23; Babr., 42. III. Ruf., iii. 9; Adem., 23; Galf., 23; Vinc. Bell., *hist.* 2, 4; *doct.* 4, 115; Marie, 28; Berach., 43; Ysop., I. 22; Wright, ii. 3; Bromyard, J., 13, 35; Boner, 27. IV. H. Sachs, 4, 3, 235; Waldis, i. 19; Kirchhof, vii. 120; Oest. V. L. 21, C. 107, J. 120, T. 139.

RO. II., iv.—SOW AND WOLF.

II. Phæd., App. Jan. i. 18; Æsop. Cor., 266. III. Ruf., iv. 4; Adem., 54; Marie, 29; Berach., 40; Wright, ii. 41; Ysop., I. 20; Galf., 24. IV. Wald., i. 20; Kirch., vii. 174; Oest. V. L. 22.

RO. II., v.—MOUNTAIN IN LABOUR.

II. Lucian, *Vera Hist.*; Athen., xiv. 1; Horace, *Ars poet.*, 139; Phæd., iv. 23 (v. 10). III. Ruf., iv. 14; Galf. 25; Vinc. Bell., *hist.* 3, 4, *doct.* 4, 118; *cf.* Marie, 29; Ysop., I. 23. II. 34; Neck., 35. IV. Erasmus, *Adag.*, i. 9, 14; Rabelais, iii. 24; Lafont., v. 10; Boileau, *Art poét.*, iii. 274; De Gubern., ii. 60. V. Og. 8; L. 23, C. 26, J. 9, T. 111.

Ro. II., vi.—Wolf and Lamb (and Goat).

II. Phæd., iii. 15. III. Marie, 44; Wright, ii. 6; Boner, 30; Gall., 26; Oest. on Rom., ii. 6.

Ro. II., vii.—Dog and Master.

II. Phæd., iv. 39. III. Ruf., v. 1; Adem., 62; Ysop., I. 27; Gall., 27, Bromy., S., 5. 3. IV. H. Sachs, 2, 4, 106; Kirch., i. 60 (vii. 75); Oest. V. L. 25.

Ro. II., viii.—Hares and Frogs (Rom., ii. 9).

I. Rodiger, *Chrest. syr.*, xxiv. § 7. II. Æsop., 237; Phædrus, App. Burm., 2; Babrius, 25; Aphthon., 23. III. Ruf., i. 4; Vinc. Bell., *hist.*, 3, 4; *doct.*, 4, 118; Marie, 30; Berach., 38; Ysop., I. 38, II. 33; Gall., 28; Neck., 34; Gabr. 10. IV. H. Sachs, i. 490; Wald., i. 23; Kirch., vii. 158; Lafont., ii. 16; Rob., Oest. V. L. 27, C. 30, J. 70, T. 66.

Ro. II., ix.—Wolf and Kid.

I. Sophos, 26. II. Æsop., Cam., 206; Phæd., App. Burm., 27, 32. III. Rufus, i. 5; Ademar, 61; Marie, 90; Berach., 21; Gall., 29; Ysop., I. 29, II. 40; *Rein. Fuchs*, 346; Neck., 42; Boner, 33. IV. Wald., i. 24; Kirch., vii. 40; Lafont., iv. 5; Grimm, K.M., 5; Rob., Oest., Grimm. V. Og. 72, L. 74, C. 119, J. 8; Mav., 5.

Ro. II., x.—Good Man and Serpent.

I. *Panis.*, iii. 5 (Benf., ii. 244, i. 359); *cf.* XX. *supra*, pp. 92-4; Bleek, *RF in Afr.*, 5-6. II. Æsop., 96; Phæd., App. Burm., 33; Gabr. 45 (not extant in Babrius); Babr.-Gitl., 160. III. Rufus, i. 12; Ademar, 65; Marie, 63; Berach., 22; Ysop., I. 39; *Dial. Creat.*, 108; Gall., 30; *Gesta Rom.*, 141; *Exx.*, 134; Bromy., B., 4, 15; Mapes, *De Nugis*, ii. 6. IV. H. Sachs, 2, 4, 42 b.; Wald., i. 16;

Lafont., x. 12; Kirch., vii. 91; Morlini, *Nov.*, 50; Grimm., K.M., 105; *deutsche Sagen*, i. 220; Woycikí, *Poln. Mähr.*, 105; Gering *Islensk Ævent.*, 59; Rob., Oest.; Loeseleur *essai*, 47; Du Méril, 160 n.; Liebr. *ZV*, 29. V. Og., 25. L. 30, J. 18.

Ro. II., xi.—Hart, Sheep, and Wolf.

II. Ph., i. 16. IV. Rufus, i. 13; Ysop., I. 31, II. 14; *cf.* Marie, 4; Galf., 31. IV. Luther, iv. p. 271; Wald., i. 25; Kirch., vii. 38; Oest.

Ro. II. xii.—Bald Man and Fly.

I. *Makasa Jātaka*, *supra* VI. p. 64; *cf.* Benf., i. 293. II. Ph., iv. 31. III. Rufus, i. 14; Ademar, 66; Galf., 32; Neck., 19; Boner, 36. IV. Morlini, 21; Straparola, xiii. 4; Waldis, ii. 99—Kurz, Méril, De Gub., ii. 222. V. Clouston, *Pop. Tales*, i. 55-7.

Ro. II., xiii.—Fox and Stork.

I. *Cf.* Bidpai-Wolff, ii. 21. II. Plut., *symp. quæst.*, I. v.; Æsop., 34; Phæd., i. 26. III. Rufus, ii. 3; Ademar, 63; Ysop. I. 33; Galf., 33. IV. Kirch., vii. 29; Waldis, i. 27; Lafont., i. 18; Rob., Oest. V. L. 31, C. 12, J. 146, T. 136; Cald., 11; Cr., 19 (F. and *Crane*).

Ro. II., xiv.—Wolf and Skull (Fox and Mask).

I. *Cf.* Bidpai-Wolff, i. 22. II. Æsop., 47; Phaed., i. 7; Babr.-Gitl., 291. III. Rufus, iii. 6; Ysop., I. 60; Galf., 34. IV. Erasmus, *Adag.*, 8, 95; Waldis, i. 28; Kirchhof, vii. 51; Lafontaine, iv. 14; Lessing, ii. 14; Rob., Oest.; Kurz. V. L. 32, C. 77, J. 137; Cr., 28. [Fox and Mask.]

Ro. II., xv.—Jay and Peacock.

I. *Nacca Jātaka*, supra XI. pp. 70-1; Bidpai, Card., iii. 323; *Tutin.*, ii. 146. II. Æsop., 200; Plaut., *Aul.*, 2, 1;

Hor., *Epp.*, i. 3, 18; Ph., i. 3; Babr., 72; Niceph., Basil., 5; Theon Soph., *Prag.*, 3; *cf.* Av., 15. III. Rufus, ii. 4; Ademar, 26; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 4, *d.* 4, 119; Marie, 58; Berach., 27 (Raven); *Dial. Creat.*, 54; Odo., 37; Neck., 12; Renard le contref., 129; Bromy., A., 12, 35; *Scala*, 80 b; Hita, p. 275; Trimberg, 1768 *seq.* IV. Kirch., vii. 52; Lafontaine, iv. 9; Waldis, i. 29; Lessing, ii. 6; Rob., Oest.; Méril, 186; De Gub., ii. 246; Crane, *Ital. F.T.* 353; M. Fuchs, *Die Krähe die sich m. fremd. Fed. sich schmückt*, 1886. V. L. 33, C. 4, J. 7, T. 72 [Daw]. Cald., 4; Cr., 32, Chapbook 7 (Pigeons); Thackeray, *Newcomes*, i.; *cf.* expr. 'borrowed plumes,' and Prov., 'If every bird takes back its own feathers you'd be naked.'

Ro. II., xvi.—Mule and Fly.

I. Lôqman, 13. II. Ph., iii. 6; Æsop, 235; Babr., 84. III. Gab., 29; Galf., 36; Marie ap Legrand, iv. 317; Boner, 40. IV. Wald., iii. 84; Lafont., vii. 9; Kurz.

Ro. II., xvii.—Ant and Fly.

II. Ph., iv. 24. III. Adem., 27; Vinc. Bell., *d.* 4, 119; Marie, 86; Ysop., I. 36; Galf., 37; Brom., M., 8, 30. IV. H. Sachs, ii. 4, 74; Kirch., vi. 275; Wald. i. 30; Lafont., iv. 3; Rob., Oest. V. L. 34, C. 27, T. 72.

Ro. II., xviii.—Wolf, Fox, and Ape.

II. Ph., i. 10. III. Adem., 28; Galf., 38; Marie, 89.

Ro. II. xix.—Man and Weasel.

II. Ph., i. 22; *cf.* Æsop., 100; Babr., 33. III. Ruf., ii. 9; Adem., 29; Galf., 30; Boner, 45; Brom., A., 12, 15. IV. Kirch., vii. 92, *cf.* 93; Oest. V. C. 169.

Ro. II., xx.—Ox and Frog.

I. Bidpai Card., iii. 323; II. Æsop., 84; Ph., i. 24; Babr., 28; Hor., *Sat.*, ii. 3, 314; Mart., x. 79; Theon. Soph., 3;

Aphthon., 31. III. Adem., 33; Marie, 65; Ysop., I. 39; *Dial. Creat.*, 42; Galf., 40; Renard le contr., 129; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 5, *d.* 4, 119; Hita, 275. IV. Luther, vi. 208; *Sat. ménip.*, 109; Wald., i. 31; Kirch., vii. 53 (*cf.* ii. 137); Lafont., i. 3; Rob., Kurz. V. C. 11, J. 34, T. 38; Cald., 19; Cr., 18; Carlyle, *Misc*, ii. 283 (*fr.* Boner). Thackeray, *Newcomes*, i.

LIBER TERTIUS.

Ro. III., i.—Lion and Shepherd (Androclus).

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 211; Hiouen Tsiang ed. Julien, i. 181. II. Appian, *Ægypt*, 5; A. Gellius, v. 14, 10; Phæd., App. Burm., 15; Seneca, *De Benef.*, ii. 19. III. Ruf., iii. 1; Adem., 35; Galf., 41; Vinc. Bell., *mor.*, 1554; Ysop., I. 40; *Dial. Creat.*, 111; Neck., 20; John Sarisb., v. 17; Enx., 115; *Gesta Rom.*, 104; Brom., P., 2, 32. IV. Kirch., i. 203; Oest. V. Painter, *Pal. Pleas.* ed. Jacobs, i. 89-90 (Androdus); W. Day, *Sandford and Merton* (Androcles); Warton, i., clxvij.

Ro. III., ii.—Lion and Horse.

II. Æsop., 334; Phæd., App. Dressler, viii. 3; Babr., 122. III. P. Alf., v.; Ruf., iii. 2; Ysop., I. 41, II. 23; *Rom. du Renard*, ap. Rob.; Galf., 42; Neck., 24; *Rein. Fuchs*, 423, 429; Baldo, 27; Hita, 288; Boner, 50 (*cf.* Ex. V. 1). IV. H. Sachs, 4, 3, 224; C. Nov. ant., 91; Wald., i. 32; Kirch., vii., 43 (*cf.* iv. 138); Lafont., v. 8; Goethe, xl. 128; Rob., Oest.; Kurz, Schmidt *Beitr.*, 181; Méril, 195, 257. V. Og. 64, T. 81. Campbell *Tales, W. Highl*, iii. 99.

Ro. III., iii.—Ass and Horse.

I. Synt., 29; Soph., 32. II. Æsop., 328; Plut., *De Sanit.*, 25; Phæd., App. Burm., 17; Babr. Gitl., 220; Gabr., 37; Abstem., 45. III. Ruf., iii. 8; Adem., 37; Galf., 43; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 5, *d.* 4, 120; *Scala*, 186; Brom., J., 4, 4. IV. H. Sachs, 4, 3, 203; Wald., i. 33; Kirch., vii. 54 (*cf.* 56); Oest. V. L. 63, T. 146, Cr. 55.

Ro. III., iv.—Bat, Birds, and Beasts.

I. *Avadânas*, Julien, i. 154. II. Ph., App. Burm., 18; Varro *Agatho*; Non. Marcell, i. 32; Pandects, xxi., title *De evict.* III. Adem., 38; Galf., 44; Vinc. Bell., *d.* 4, 121, *h.* 85; Scala, 73; Marie, 31; Brom., A., 15, 31; Wright, ii. 10. IV. Wald., i. 34; Kurz, Méril, 177. V. L. 49, J. 124, T. 48, Cr. 43.

Ro. III., v.—Nightingale and Hawk.

II. Ph., App. Burm., 19. III. Ruf., iii. 4; Adem., 39; Galf., 45; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 5. *d.* 4, 114; Marie, 57; *Scala*, 73; Odo, Wright, ii. 11; Bromy., N., 4, 1. IV. Wald., iii. 18. V. L. 343.

Ro. III., vi.—Fox and Wolf.

I. *Tutinameh*, ii. 125. II. Ph., App. Burm., 20. III. Ruf., iii. 5; Adem., 40; Galf., 46; Grimm, R. F., 354; Boner, 55; Brom., J., 6, 29. IV. Wald., i. 35. V. L. 410.

Ro. III., vii.—Hart and Hunter.

I. Syntip., 15; Soph., 17; Lóqmân, 2. II. Æsop, 128; Ph., i. 12; Babr., 43. III. Ruf., iii. 10; Adem., 41; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 4, *d.* 4, 116; *Scala*, 76; Marie, 32; Berach., 74; Ysopet, I. 44, II. 32.; Neck., 33; Wright, ii. 12; Galf., 47; Bromy., D., 9, 20. IV. Wald., i. 36; Lafont., vi. 9; Rob., Kurz. V. Og., 28; Cald., 8.

Ro. III., viii.—Juno, Venus, and other Women.

II. Ph., App. Jan. i. 10. III. Rufus, iii. 11; Marie, 103; Berachyah, 86. IV. Waldis, iv. 92; Kurz. [The "glose of the sayd Esope" continues as follows:—"Cum interrogaret [Venus] patientem et taciturnam domesticam suam gallinam quanto posset satiari cibo? illa dixit. Quodcunque accipero habundat mihi. et e contra scalpo.

Venus contra huic galline dicitur coram ipsis dixisse? Ne scalpas, do modium tritici, et gallina sic ait uenerí. Si horreum mihi patefacias, tamen scalpam. Vbi risisse dicitur iuno dictum veneris a gallina, per quæ agnouerunt dii feminis fieri similia. Sic deinde iuppiter coepit multa addere et dicere. Femina nulla, se importuno negabit. Deinde et uenus cum marte, inde et cum uulcano, et ut potuerunt cetere multę. Sic et hodie plures feminę dedicerunt maritis imponere."]

Ro. III., ix.—Knight and [Ephesian] Widow.

I. *Kin-ku-k'e-kwan* (Chinese 1001 Nights), *cf. Asiat. Journ.*, 1843; *Forty Viziers*, ed Gibb, 11; *Pants.*, Benf., ii. 303 (i. 436); Talmud, *Aboda zara*, 1 (?) II. Petr. Arb. *Satyr*, cc. 111, 112 (figured in Bardon, *Coutumes des anciens*, 1772, pl. xii.); Phæd., App., 15. III. Keller, VII., *Sages*, civii-clxiii.; Dolopathos prose, p. 22; Barbazan-Méon; *Seven Sages*, ed. Weber, 12; Diocletianus, 49; Boher, 57; (Heb.) Tosafoth on *Kidd*, 80; Joseph Sebara (*cp.* Sulzbach, *Dichter Klänge*, 78); Berachyah, 80.

IV. *Fr.*: Brantôme, *Dames gal.* 2d pt., disc. iv.; P. Brisson, *L'Ephésienne*; Lafont., *ad fin* (Rob. ii. 424 *seq.*); St. Evremond, *Œuvres mêslées*, 1678; Fatouville, *Arlequin Grapignan*, 1682 (comédie); Houdar de la Motte, *Matrone d'Ephèse*, 1702 (com.); Freselier, 1714 (op. com.); Voltaire, *Zadig*, 1747; Retif de la Bretonne, *Contemporaines*; A. de Musset, *La coupe et les lèvres*, 1832 || *Ital.*: Cento nov. ant., 56; Sercambi, 16; Campeggi; E. Manfredi, *Rime*, 1760; Carleromaco, *Il ricciardetto*, 1738 || *Span.*: *Erasto*, 1538 || *Germ.*: *Syben meystern*, 1473; Kirch.; Gellert, *Hölzerne Johannes*; Lessing, *Matrone von Ephesus* (frag. 8 scenes); Wieland, *Hann u. Gulpenleh* (Werke, xxii. 270-84); Musœus in *Volksmärch.*, 1782; W. Heinse, *Enkopp*, 1773; Chamisso, *Ged.*, 1832, pp. 208-14; *cf.* Grimm, K.M., 38—E. Grisebach, *Die treulose Wittwe*, 4te Ausg., 1883; Steinschneider, *Heb. Bibl.*, xiii. 78.

V. J. Rolland (Scotch), *Seven Sages*, 1576; G. Chapman, *Widow's Teares*; B. Harris, *Matrona Ephesia*, 1665 (fr.

Eng., of W. Charleton); Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Dying*, c. v.; Og.; C. Johnson, *The Ephesian Widow*, 1730 (farce); O. Goldsmith, *Citizen of World*, xviii.; Bickerstaff, *The Ephesian Matron*, 1769; Galton, *South Africa*, p. 53;* Clouston, *Pop. Tales*, i. 29-35.

Ro. III., x.—Young Man and Whore.

II. Ph., App. Jan., i. 28. III. Ruf., iv. 1; Galf., 49.

Ro. III., xi.—Father and Bad Son.

II. Ph., App. Jan., i. 11. III. Ruf., iv. 15; Galf., 50; Ysop., I. 4, 5. IV. Weld., iv. 85.

Ro. III., xii.—Serpent and File.

I. Synt., 6; Soph., 5; Lôqman, 28 (cat). II. Æsop. 146; Phaed., iv. 8. III. Ruf., iv. 8; Adem., 42; Galf., 51; Marie, 83; Ysop., I. 48, II. 15; Neck., 16; Galf., 52. IV. Wald., i. 37; Lafont., v. 16, Rob., Mét. V. Og., 27; C. 43, J. 91, T. 70, Cr. 17.

Ro. III., xiii.—Wolves and Sheep.

II. Æsop. 268; Plut., *Demosth.*, 33; Ph., App. Dressler, vii. 21; Babr., 93; Aphthon., 21; Theon, 2; Isidor, *orig.*, i. 39, 7. III. Ruf., iv. 9; Adem., 43; Galf., 52; Ysop., I. 49, II. 5; Galf., 53; Neck., 4; *Dial. Creat.*, 8; Holkot, 55; Brom., F., i. 18; *Enx.*, 354; Boner, 93; *Book of Leinster*, f. 382. IV. Wald., i. 38 (*cf.* i. 26); Kirch., vii. 39; Pauli, 447; Lafont., iii. 13—Rob., Oest. V. I., 186, C. 33, J. 62.

Ro. III., xiv.—Man and Wood (Trees).

I. Talm. *Sank.*, 39*b*; *Ber. Rab.*, § 5; Jellinek, *Beth. Ham.*, ii. 25; Joh. de Capua, c. 16; Raju, *Indian Fables*,

* "After one of the flashes the fourth savage was struck dead. . . . His widow howled all night; and was engaged to be married again the succeeding day."

p. 47. II. Æsop., 123; Ph., App. Burm., 5; Babr., 2. III. Ruf., iv. 10; Adem., 44; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 20, *d.* 4, 116; Marie, 23; Berach., 42; Ysop., I. 50; Galf., 53; Wright, ii. 16. IV. Wald., *i.* 39 (*cf.* iii. 77); Kirch., i. 23, vii. 103; Lafont., xii. 16; Rob., Oest.; Blumenthal, *R. Meir*, p. 106. V. Og., 36; C. 33, J. 58, T. 143, Cr. 25.

RO. III., xv.—WOLF AND DOG.

I. Soph., 46. II. Æsop., 321; Ph., iii. 7; Babr., 100; Avian, 37 (Lion). III. Ruf., iv. 7; Adem., 45; Galf., 54; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 6, *d.* 3, 313; Marie, 34; Berach., 61 (Lion); Ysop., I. 51, II. 37; *Exempl.*, 176; Brom., M., 8, 32; Neck., 39. IV. Wald., i. 56 (*cf.* ii. 18); Pauli, 433; Morlini, *Nov.* 13; Lafont., i. 5—Rob., Oest. V. L. 68, C. 19.

RO. III., xvi.—BELLY AND MEMBERS.

I. Egyptian *ap. Acad. Inscr.*, 1883, p. 5 (*supra*, p. 82); *Mahâbharata*, xiv. 688 (Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iii. 369); Upanishads: Burnouf, *Sur le Yaçna*, notes, p. clxxii. *seq.*; *Schocher Tob* (Heb.) on Ps., 39; 1 Cor. xii. 12–27; *Pantschatantra*, ii. 360 (Benf., i. § 116); Avadânas, i. 152, ii. 100; Lôqman, 32; Syntipas, 35. II. Plut., *Coriol.* 6; *Agis*; Æsop., 197; Max Tyr., 5; Ph., App. Dressler, viii. 4; Livy, i. 30, 3, ii. 32; Quintil., v. 11; Seneca, *ad Helviam*, 12; Dio Chrys. 2, 7; Dio. Halic., vi. 76. III. Ruf., iv. 11; Adem., 46; Galf., 55; Vinc. Bell., *mor.* 1504, *h.* 3, 7, *d.* 4, 122; Marie, 35; Ysop., I. 52, II. 36; Neck., 37; Wright, ii. 17; Joh. Sarish., ii. 6, 24; Abr. ibn Ezra, *Ker. Chem.*, iv. 143 (Geiger, *J. D.*, 33–5); Keller, *Erzähl.*, 589; Migne, *Mystères*, s. v. *Membres*. IV. Rabelais, iii. 3; Pauli, 399; Wald., i. 40; Kirch., v. 122; Lafont., iii. 2; *Cinq Sens*, 1545; Allione, *Commedie*, 15–54; Miranda, *Contes*, 69; Rob., Oest.; Prato *ap. Archiv. por. trad. pop.*, iv. 25–40. V. North, *Bidpai*, ed. Jacobs, 64; North, *Plut.*, ed. Skeat, 6; Shakspeare, *Coriol.*, i. 2; L. 50, C. 37, J. 64, T. 80; Pope, *Essay*, ix.

Ro. III., xvii.—Ape and Fox.

II. Phæd., App. Burm., 12. III. Ruf., iv. 12; Adem., 46; Galf., 56; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 7, *d.* 4, 115; Marie, 36; Berach., 79; *Scala*, 19; Wright, ii. 19. IV. Wald., i. 81. V. L. 116, C. 123.

Ro. III., xviii.—Merchant and Ass.

II. Ph., iv. 1. III. Ruf., iv. 5, 13; Adem., 47; Galf., 57; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 7, *d.* 4, 118; *Scala*, 53.

Ro. III., xix.—Hart in Ox Stall.

II. Æsop, *Gall. can. aug.* (Rob.), 42; Ph., ii. 8. III. Ruf., iv. 6, 16; Adem., 48; Ysop., I. 55; Galf., 58; Brom., I. 3, 5; W. Mapes, *De Nugis*. IV. Wald., i. 62; Kirch., vii. 106; Lafont., iv. 21; Rob., Oest.; Liebr., *V. K.*, 53. V. Og., 37, L. 53, C. 18, Cr. 44.

Ro. III., xx.—Lion Sick.

I. Rig Veda, x. 28, 4 (De Gub.); Benf., i. 382; Lôqman. 6. II. Phæd., vi. 13. III. Ruf., v. 2; Adem, 49; *cf. Gesta*, 283 (Fridolin); Marie, 37; *Isop.* (Heb.), 13. IV. Wald., i. 43; Steinschneider, *Ysopet*, 364; Ghivizzani, ii. 186; De Gubern., ii. 78.

LIBER QUARTUS.

Ro. IV., i.—Fox and Grapes.

I. Leitner, *Darbistan*, iii. No. 2 (*F. and pomegranates*); *cf.* Benf., i. 323. II. Æsop., 33; Phaed., iv. 3; Babr., 19; Abstem., 141. III. Ps. Abelard, *Epist.* iv.; Rufus, v. 3; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 7, *d.* 4, 123; *Amis et Amiles*, 571. IV. Bebel, *fac.* 10; Waldis, iii. 73; Lafontaine, iii. 11; *Sat. ménip.*, 105; Krilof, vi. 17; Rob.; Méril, 141-2; Lieb. *Z V.* 103. V. L. 129, C. 12, J. i. T. 136; Cr., 9; Mavor, 1; Hazlitt, *Prov.* 146.

Ro. IV., ii.—Weasel (Cat), and Rats.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 225; Sophos, 39; Vartan, 15. II. Ph., iv. 2. IV. Waldis, i. 67; Lafont., iii. 18; Rob., Kurz. V. [variants have cat]. L. 115, C. 88.

Ro. IV., iii.—Wolf, Shepherd, and Hunter.

I. *Cf.* Benf. i. § 71. II. Ph., App. Burm., 23; Æsop, 35; Babr., 50; Max Tyr., 33. III. Ademar, 50; Marie, 42; Berach., 75; Neck., 22; Wright, ii. 21; Brom., C., 6, 13. IV. Méril, 193. V. L. 104 (Fox), C. 89 (F.), Chapbook, 11 (Fox).

Ro. IV., iv.—Peacock and Juno.

II. Phaed., iii. 18; *cf.* Æsop., 18 (Camel); Babr.-Gitl., 145; Avian, 8 (vii.). III. Rufus, v. 4; Marie, 43; Ysop., II. 39. IV. Kirch., iv. 274; Lafont., ii. 17; Rob. V. I. 80, C. 21, T. 97; Cr., 33.

Ro. IV., v.—Panther and Villains.

II. Ph. iii. 2. III. Rufus, v. 5.

Ro. IV., vi.—Butchers and Wethers.

I. Synt., 13; Lôqm., 1. II. Ph., App. Dressler, viii. 5; Babrius, 44; Aphtl., 16; Av., 18. III. Gab., 30; Marie, 45; Neck., 30; Boner, 84; Wright, ii. 23. IV. Mér., 200.

Ro. IV., vii.—Falconer and Birds.

II. Ph., App. Dressler, viii. 6. III. Odo; Wright, ii. 24; *Gatos*, 4; Lucanor, 13.

Ro. IV., viii. [King of Apes].

II. Ph., App. Burm., 24. III. Ademar, 51; Marie, 66; Berach., 78; Ysop., II. 30; Vinc. Bell., *h.* 3, 7, *d.* 4, 121,

m. 1044; Wright, ii. 25; *stories*, 60; Ödo; Bromyard, A., 15, 21; *Gatos*, 28. IV. H. Sachs, 2, 4, 85; Pauli, 381; Waldis, iv. 75; Oest.; Méril, 201.

Ro. IV., ix.—Horse, Hunter, and Stag.

II. Arist., *Rhet.*, ii. 20; Plut., *Arat.*, 38; Æsop., 175; Phaed., iv. 4; Hor., *Epp.*, i. 10, 34; Gabr., 3 (not in Babr.); Niceph. Basil., *Myth.*, 2; Konon, *Diegmata*, 42. III. Ysop., I. 43, II. 25; Gall., 45; Neck., 26; *Reineke*, 3, 8; Baldo, 26; Boner, 56. IV. Waldis, i. 45; Kirchhof, vii. 128; *Sat. ménip.*, 225; Leo Allat., 107; Doni, 2. 1; Lafont., iv. 13; Goethe, xl. 172; Rob., Oest.; Kurz, Mér., 197. V. North *Bidpai*, ed. Jacobs, p. 65; C. 34, J. 86, T. 137; Cald., 12; Cr., 20.

Ro. IV., x.—Ass and Lion.

II. Æsop., 259; *cf.* Ph., i. 11. III. Marie, 67; Berach., 65; Ysop., II. 8; Vinc. Bell., *n.* 3, 8, *d.* 4, 123; Wright, ii. 26; Neck., 8. IV. Morlini, *Nov.*, 4; Lafont., ii. 19; Rob.; Méril, 182. V. L. 7, C. 72.

Ro. IV., xi.—Hawk and other Birds.

II. Ph., App. Dress., viii. 7. IV. Waldis, i. 79; Kirch., vii. 117.

Ro. IV., xii.—Fox and Lion [*Nulla Vestigia*].

I. *Pants.*, viii. 14 (Benf., ii. 264, i. 382); Syntipas, 38; Lôqman, 38; Sadi, 16; Vartan, 3; Tutinameh (Rosen), ii. 125; Bleek, *RF. Afr.*, xxv. II. Plato, *Alcib.*, i. 503; Plut., *De Virt.*, 329; Æsop., 246; Ph., App. Burm., 30; Babr., 103; Hor., *Ep.* I., i. 73; Aphthon., 8. III. Ademar, 59; Marie, 58; Berachyah, 29; Vinc. Bell., *Doct.*, 4, 123; *Dial. Creat.*, 44, 110. IV. Fischart, *Garg.*, 36; Waldis, i. 43; Kirch., vii. 25; Lafontaine, vi. 14; Rob. (*cf.* ii. 548); Oest. V. Og. 38, T. 40; Chapbook, 1.

Ro. IV., xiii.—Ass and Wolf [Rom. iv. 15].

II. Plut., *de fratr. amic.*, 19; Æsop., 16; Babr.-Gitl., 226; Ph., App. Dressler, viii. 9; Dositheus, 13; Gab., 42. III. Neckam, 21. IV. Du Méril, 192.

Ro. IV., xiv.—Hedgehog and Kids.

II. Ph., App. Dressler, viii. 10.

Ro. IV., xv.—Man and Lion (Statue).

I. Lóqman, 7; Sophos, 58. II. Plut., *Apopth. Laced.*, 69; Scol. Eurip. *Kor.*, 103; Aphth., 38; Ph., App. Burm., p. 20; Gabr., i. (not in Babr.); Avian, 24. III. Ademar, 52; Marie, 69; Berach., 56; Wright, ii. 28. IV. Kirch., i. 80; Lafont., iii. 10; Rob., Oest. V. *Spectator*, No. 11; L. 100, J. 84; Cr., 30 (Lion and Statue).

Ro. IV., xvi.—Camel and Flea.

I. Synt., 47. II. Æsop., 235; Phaed. App. Burm., 31; Babr., 84. III. Ademar, 60; Marie, 70; Berachyah, 73; Wright, ii. 29. IV. Méril, 205.

Ro. IV., xvii.—Ant and Grasshopper.

I. *Cf.* Prov. vi. 6; Sophos, 35. II. Æsop. 401; Dosith., 17; Ph. App. Burm., 28; Aphthon., 31; Babr., 136; Avian, 34; Salvianus *De gub. Dei*, iv. 43. III. Adem., 56; Vinc. Bell., *h.*, 3, 8, *d.*, 4, 122; Marie, 29 (*cf.* 86); Berach., 40; Ysopet, II. 28; *Dial. Creat.*, 13; Neckam, 29; Gab., 41; Boner, 42; Cyril, i. 4. IV. H. Sachs, i. 4, 977; Krilof, ii. 12; Pitré *Fiabe*, 280; Lafont., i. 1; Rob., Méril, 199; De Gub., ii. 222. V. L. 217, C. 121, J. 12, T. 14.

Ro. IV., xviii.—Pilgrim and Sword.

II. Ph. App. Dress., v. 11.

Ro. IV., xix.—Sheep and Crow.

II. Ph. App. Burm., 29. III. Ademar, 55; Marie, 20; Berach., 18; Wright, ii. 31. IV. Wald., i. 65. V. L. 77.

Ro. IV., xx.—Tree and Reed [Not in Rom.].

I. Mahâbharata, xii. 4198—Weber, *Ind. Studien*, iii.; Talm. *Taanith*, 20ᵇ. II. Æsop., 125 (*cf.* F., 59); Babrius, 64 (*cf.* 36); Avian, 19 (*cf.* 16). III. Boner, 83; Berach., 27, 54. IV. Florian, i. 15; Wald., i. 100 (*cf.* 82); Kirch., vii. 58, 59; Pauli 174; Krilof, i. 2; *cf.* Lafontaine, i. 22—Rob.; Kurz. V. C. 50, J. 92, T. 51 (Oak); Cr., 34.

LIBER QUINTUS.

[In Stainhöwel these are known as "Fabulæ Extravagantes": the majority of them find parallels in Marie or Berachyah or the LBG Fables contained in Oesterley's *Appendix* to Romulus. All these we have seen reason to connect with the Æsop of Alfred, which may therefore be regarded as the source of the collection. The only MS. known to contain them is the Breslau one of the *Disciplina Clericalis*, the only discussion of them that by Robert, I. xcv.–viii.]

Ex. V., i.—Mule, Fox and Wolf.

I. Petr. Alfonsus, 5, 4; *cf.* Benf., § 181. II. Æsop., 334; Babr., 122; Aphthon., 9. III. Gabr., 37; Bromy., F., 7, 2; Renard, 7521; Reineke (Grimm), lxxv., cclxxii., 423 (Caxton, ed. Arber, 61); *Castoiement*, 71; Gab., 38; *Enx.*, 128; Baldo, 27. IV. H. Sachs, 2, 4, 34; Kirch., iv. 138 (*cf.* vii. 43); Lafontaine, xii. 17 (*cf.* vi. 7); Kühn *Mark. Sagen* 'Der dumme Wulf'—Schmidt *Beitr.*, 181; Rob., Oest. V. Dunlop. Lieb., 214.

Ex. V., ii.—Boar and Wolf.

III. Berach., 105; Marie, 78; Rom. *App.*, 63; Camerarius, 200.

Ex. V., iii.—Fox and Cock.

I. Benf., i. 610; *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*, ed. Tawney, ii. 685; Vartan, 12, 13; Bleek, *Kein. Fuchs in Africa*, 23; Harris, *Nights with Remus*, xxvii. (Brer Wolf says grace). II. Phædr. Burm. App., 13. III. Adem., 30; Marie, 51; Rom. *App.*, 45; Brom., A., 11, 9; J., 13, 28; Baldo, 23; Lucanor (York), 31; Sermond, *Op.*, ii. 1075; Alcuin, *Op.*, ii. 238; Barbazan, iii. 55. IV. Coilho, *Cont. port.*, p. 15; Du Méril, 138, 253; De Gub., ii. 137, Tawney. V. Chaucer, *Nonne Prestes Tale*, Campbell, *W. Highl. Tales*, 63 (iii. 93).

Ex. V., iv.—Dragon and Hart.

I. Benf., i. 113-120; Tutinameh., 129; Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, 116; Harris *Nights*, xlvi.; Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika* (among Basutos). II. Æsop., 97; Ph., iv. 18; Babrius, 4; Syntip., 25; Abstem., 136. III. Gab., 44; Marie ap. Legrand, iv. 193 (not in Roquefort); Ysop., i. 10; *Gesta Rom.*, 178; *Dial. Creat.*, 24; *Reineke*, Grimm., cliii. 14; *Scala celi*, 86; Bromy., G., 4, 17; *Enx.* 246. IV. Waldis, iv. 99; Luther, *Tisch.*, 78 b.; Kirchhof, v. 121; Charron *de la sagesse*, i. 1; Lafontaine, iv. 13; Henn, *gr. Mähr.* 87; Grundvig, ii. 124; *Maasseboh* (Jew-Germ.), 144; Gonzenbach, *sic.*, *Mähr.*—Rob., Oest., Schmidt, 118; Temple, 324, 408; *Rev. trad. pop.*, i. 30; *Arch. slav. phil.*, 1876, p. 279; R. Köhler in Gonzenbach, p. 247; Carnoy, *Contes d'Animaux*, pp. viii.-ix. V. Og., 16; Clouston, *Pop. Tales*, i. 262-5.

Ex. V., v.—Fox and Cat.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 312. II. Gr. prov. (Leutsch. i. 147, Ion); Ps. Homer ap. Zenob., v. 68. III. Rom., *App.* 20; Camerar,

202; Marie, 98; Berachyah, 94; *Rom. du Renard*, i. 99; *Gatos*, 40; Brom., S. 3, 15; Joh. Gers. *Par. sup. magnif.*, iv. 4. IV. H. Sachs, ii. 4, 77; Waldis, ii. 21; Lafont., ix. 14; Grimm, *KM*, 75; Hahn *GAM*, 91. V. Og., 57; L. 394, C. 60, T. 29; Cr., 47.

Ex. V., vi.—Hegoat and Wolf.

II. Æsop., 135; Babr., 96; Avian, 26. III. Marie, 49; Rom., *App.*, 43; Baldo, 22. IV. Kirch., vii. 118.—Oest.

Ex. V., vii.—Wolf and Ass.

III. Marie, 62; Rom. *App.*, 50; *Reineke Fuchs.*, Grimm, 424; Camerar, 203. IV. Grimm, *KM*, 132.

Ex., V. viii.—Serpent and Labourer.

I. Benf., i. 359. II. Berach., 22; Marie, 63. IV. Gritsch. *Quadragesimale*, 1484, 37, 76; *Roman du Renard* (Rob.). V. Chaucer, *Tale of Melibœus*.

Ex. V., ix.—Fox, Wolf and Lion.

I. Mesnevi, i. 100, p. 263. II. Æsop., 255. III. Marie, 59; Berach., 85; Vinc. Bell., *m.*, 3, 3, 11; *Reineke*, Grimm., 425; *Reinardus*, 2, 311; Grimm, *Lat. Ged. d. Mittelalters*, 200; Wright, 58; Odo; Brom., A., 11, 8; *cf.* D. 12, 26, E. 8, 25. IV. Wald., iii. 91; Pauli, 494; Lafont., viii. 3; Goethe, 40, 175.—Oest.

Ex. V., x.—Penitent Wolf.

I. Butting goats from Bidpai (*cf.* Jacobs, D. 7ª). III. *Reineke*, Grimm, 429. IV. Camerar, 371; *cf.* Wald., ii. 73; Wolf, *Deutsch. Hausm.*, 419; Hahn, *GAM*, 93; Leger, *Contes slaves*, 18 (Little Russ. fr. Rutchenko). V. Hazlitt, *Prov. Hear news*, &c.

Ex. V., xi.—Dog in Manger.

II. Lucian *Tim.*, i. 14; ἀπαιδ., 30; Æsop., 228; Abstem. ap. Nevelet., 604. IV. Kirch., vii. 130; Wald., i. 64; Bartol. a Saxo-ferrato *Tract. quest. inter virg. Mariam et Diabolum* Hanov., 1611, 3.—Oest. V. C. 127, J. 79, T. 46, Cr. 18, Mav. 4, R. C. Jebb, *Bentley*, 52, 62.

Ex. V., xii.—Wolf and Hungry Dog.

IV. *Cf.* Grimm., KM., iii. 80.

Ex. V., xiii.—Father and Three Sons.

II. Seneca, *Controv. exc.*, 6, 3. III. *Gesta Rom.*, 90; *Renard le Contrefait; Judgment de Salomon.*—Rob.

Ex. V., xiv.—Wolf and Fox.

III. Rom. *App.*, 52; *Reineke*, Grimm., 427.

Ex. V., xv.—Dog, Wolf and Wether.

III. Baldo, 21 (*cf. contra*, Wolf in sheep's clothing).

Ex. V., xvi.—Man, Lion and Son.

I. Kölle, *African nat. lit.*, No. 9; Bleek, *RF. in Afr.*, 23; Harris, *Nights with Remus*, vii. (Lion hunts for man). III. Berach., 106; *Dial. Creat.*, 86. IV. Pauli, 20 (*cf.* 18); *Scherz mit d. Warheyt*, 50*b*.; Geiler *Narrenschiff*, 70; Grimm, KM., 72; *cf.* 48.—Oest.

Ex. V., xvii.—Knight and Servant.

III. Rom. *App.*, 59. IV. Waldis, iii. 29.

REMICIUS.

[Selected by Stainhöwel from the hundred Latin prose versions of Greek fables, translated by Ranutio d'Arezzo, and published in 1476. All are in the Greek prose Æsop, most in Babrius, either in the vulgate or in Gitlbauer's edition.]

Re. i.—Eagle and Raven.

I. Benf., i. 602; Somadeva, 70, ed. Tawney, ii. 41. II. Æsop, 8; Babr.-Gitl., 186; Aphthon., 19; Aristoph., *Aves*, 652. III. Gab., 1. IV. Rim., 2; Dorp., 374; Wald., i. 63; Lafont., ii. 16.—Kurz, Tawney.

Re. ii.—Eagle and Weasel.

I. *Cf. Pants.*, ii. 170. II. Æsop, 7; *Cf.* Aristoph., *Pax*, 126, and Scholiast, *ad loc.* IV. Rim., 3; Dorp., 375; Lafont., ii. 8; Wald., ii. 26.—Kurz, Rutherford.

Re. iii.—Fox and Goat.

I. *Cf.* Benf., i. 320. II. Ph., iv. 9; Æsop, 45; Babr.-Gitl., 174. III. Alf., 24; *Renart*, 7383, *seq.*; Barbazon-Meon, iv. 175. IV. Rim., 5; Dorp., 377; Wald., iii. 27; Lafont., iii. 5; Goethe, xl. 195.

Re. iv.—Cat and Chicken.

II. Æsop, 14; Babr., 17. IV. Rim., 7; Dorp., 379; Wald., i. 61.—Kurz.

Re. v.—Fox and Bush.

II. Æsop, 32; Babr.-Gitl., 187. III. Gabr., 4, 6. IV. Rim., 10; Dorp. 382; Wald., iii. 42.—Kurz.

Re. vi.—Man and Wooden God.

I. Benf., *Pants.*, i. 478; Sophos, 52; Vartan, 41; *cf.* Is., xl.; 1001 *Tag* (Xailun), 5. II. Æsop., 66; Babr., 119.

IV. Rim., 15; Dorp., 387; Kirch., i. 104; Basile, *Pentam.*, 4 (Liebr., i. 63); *Gesamint*, 2, 525; Wald., iii. 45; Lafont., iv. 8.—Oest.

RE. vii.—FISHER.

II. Herod., i. 141; Æsop, 39; Babr., 9; Ennius (Vahlen), p. 151; Aristæn., *ep.* i. 27. III. Gab., 16. IV. Rim., 18; Dorp. 390; Wald., iii. 49; Lafont., x. 11.—Kurz, Rutherford. V. Hazlitt, *Prov.*, 142.

RE. viii.—CAT AND RAT.

II. Æsop., 16; Ph., iii. 2; Babr.-Gitl., 226. III. Gabr., 42. IV. Rim., 21; Dorp., 393; Wald., iii. 57 (*cf.* i. 67); Lafont., iii. 18.—Kurz.

RE. ix.—LABOURER AND PYELARGE.

II. Æsop., 100; Babr., 13. III. Gab., 13. IV. Rim., 43; Dorp. 415; Kirch., vii., 92; *cf.* 93—Oest.

RE. x.—SHEPHERD BOY (WOLF!)

II. Æsop., 166; Babr.-Gitl., 199. IV. Rim., 53; Dorp., 425; Kirch., vii. 136; Goedeke, *Deutsche Dicht.*, i. 286*b*.—Oest. V. L. 74, C. 155, J. 40, T. 90, Cald., 7, Mav., 3. *Cf.* expr. "to cry wolf."

RE. xi.—ANT AND DOVE.

II. Æsop., 296. IV. Rim., 68; Dorp., 440; Lafont., ii. 12; Wald., i. 70.—Rob., Oest. V. L. 203, C. 133, J. 156, T. 156.

RE. xii.—BEE AND JUPITER.

II. Æsop., 287; Babr.-Gitl., 175. IV. Rim., 70; Dorp., 442; Wald., iii. 69.—Kurz.

RE. xiii.—CARPENTER.

I. *Cf.* II. Kings, vi. 4–8. II. Æsop., 308; Babr.-Gitl., 276; Gr. Prov. (Leutsch., ii. 197). IV. Rim., 74; Dorp., 446; Kirch., vii. 15, 16; Rabel., iv. prol.; Lafont., v. 1.—Rob., Oest.

Re. xiv.—Young Thief and Mother.

II. Æsop., 351; Babr.-Gitl., 247; Boethius *De discip. schol.* III. Vinc. Bell., *m.*, 3, 2, 7; *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Graesse, ii. p. 186; *Exempl.*, 273; Brom., A., 3, 19. IV. Rim., 90; Dorp., 462; Pauli, 19; Wald., iii. 19; Kirch., vii. 183.—Oest. V. *Conceyts and Jests*, 26; C. 119, J. 101, T. 10.

Re. xv.—Flea and Man.

II. Æsop., 425; Babr.-Gitl., 283. IV. Rim., 97; Dorp., 469; Wald., iii. 82. V. L. 139, C. 190.

Re. xvi.—Man with two Wives.

I. Beni. *Pants.*, i. 602, ii. 552; *Avadânas*, ii. 138; Diod. Sic., xxxiii., 10; Tulm., *Baba Kama*, 60*b*. II. Æsop., 56; Phæd., ii. 2; Babr., 22. IV. Rim., 100; Dorp., 472; Kirch., vii. 67; H. Sachs, 2, 4, 214; Wald., iii. 83; Lafont., i. 17.—Rob., Oest., Roth., *Heid. Jahrb.*, 1860, p. 52; Liebr., *ZV.*, 120. V. L. 141, C. 17½, J. 179, Cald., 16, Clouston, *Pop. Tales*, i. 16.

Re. xvii.—Labourer and Children.

II. Æsop., 98; Babr.-Gitl., 230. III. *Dial. Creat.*, 13. IV. Kirch., i. 172; Lafont., v. 9.

AVIAN.

[The original consists of forty-two fables: of these some are parallels to Phædrine fables, and are accordingly included in the preceding books. *Cf.* Ro., i. 20, iii. 15, iv. 4, 6, 15, 17, 20; Ex., V. 6.]

Av. i.—Nurse and Wolf.

I. Alf. *Disc. Cler.*, 24. II. Av., 1; Æsop., 275; Babr., 16; Apththon., 39. III. Marie, 49; Wright, 77; *Reineke*,

Grimm., 330; *Novus Avianus*, Du Méril, 262, 268; *Scala*, 77; Brom., A., 21, 26; S., 10, 3. IV. H. Sachs, 2, 4, 33; Pauli, 90 (*cf.* 81); *Eulenspiegel*, 96; *Gesammt.*, 69; Wald., i. 86; Lafont., iv. 16; Rob., Oest.; Goed. *Mittel.*, 626. V. *Cf.* Chaucer, *Freres Tale*, 6957.

AV. ii.—TORTOISE AND BIRDS.

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II. Av., 41; Æsop., 381; Babr.-Gitl., 165.

Av. xxvii.—Wolf and Lamb.

II. Av., 42 [Kid]; Æsop., 273; Babr.-Gitl., 132. III. Boner, 30. IV. Waldis, i. 49.

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[From the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Moses Sephardi, a Spanish Jew, christened Petrus Alphonsus, 1106.]

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* As the remaining Tales are of a different *genre* to the Fable proper, I have not attempted any thoroughness in the parallels, though the *Disciplina Clericalis* would well repay complete investigation.

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B.—I. 1001 *Nights* (Hagen, 9. 1; Caussin de Percival, 9, 1, 55); Scott, *Tales*, 253; Hammer, *Rosenöl*, 2, 262; Kölle, *Afric. nat. lit.*, p. 122. III. Alf., iii. 2-14; *Scala*, 11; *Dial. Creat.*, 56; Brom., A., 21, 11; *Gesta*, 171; *Liber opium*, 2, 20, 2; Enxempl., 92; *Castoiem.* (Méon), *a.* 52 (Legr., 2, 385); *Altris y. Profilias* (ed. Grimm, 1846). IV. Bocc., x. 8; Hardi, *Gesippe; Cecat. nouv. nouv.*, v. 28; Chevreau, *Gesippe et Tite*, 1658; H. Sachs, i. 2, 181, iii. 2, 4; *Der mann der seine frau nicht kennt*, 1781; Ger., *Islensk Æventyri*, 51—Schmidt, *Beitr.* 111, on Alf., p. 98. V. Lydgate, *Tale of Two Merchaunts*; R. Edwards *Tragedy*, 1582; G. Griffin, *Gesippus, a Tragedy*, 1842—Warton, I., clxxxvii.

Alf. ii.—Money Trusted.

I. Sindibad, 25; Syntipas, 22; Cardonne, *mél.*, i. 61; 1001 *Nacht*, Bresl., 386 (Loiseleur, 652); Scott, *Tales*, 207—Loiseleur *essai*, 129. III. Alf., 16, 1–10; *Castoiem.* (Méon, ii. 107; Legr., ii. 403); *Gesta*, 118; Brom., R., 6, 1; Enxempl., 92. IV. Bocc., viii. 10; *C. nov. ant.*, 74; Gering, 69—Schmidt, *Beitr.*, 91-95—Oest. V. *Jack of Dover*, 14.

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III. Alf., 17, 1–12; Vinc. Bell., *m.*, i. 1, 26; *Enx.*, 334; *Castoiem.* (M. Legr., iii. 62), ii. 113; *Gesta*, 246 (Grässe, ii. 151). IV. Pauli; Gering, *Isl. Æv.*, 70—Oest.

Alf. iv.—Money Recovered.

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I. *Sindibad-nameh*, 35, p. 175; Hammer, *Rosenöl*, No. 180, ii. 303; Mesnevi, 2, 288; *Toldoth Jesu*, ed. 1705, p. 5*; Benf., *Pants.*, i. 493. III. Alf., 20, 1-8; *Cast.*, p. 127; Vinc. Bell., *m.*, 1, 1, 26; Brom., E., 8, 14; *Gesta*, 106; *Scala*, 73 b.; *Exempl.*, 27; Boner, 74. IV. Cinthio, i. 3; Gering, 72; Pitrè *Fiabi*, 173. V. Dunlop-Liebr., 280; Clouston, *Pop. Tales*, ii. 86-95‖; Crane, *Ital. Folk Tales*, 154, 356.

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I. *Vikram*, tr. Burton, p. 108* (proverb). III. Alf., viii. 2; *Cast.*, 75; *Exxem.*, 13; Legr., ii. 376; *Gesta*, 157; Boner, 76. IV. *C. nov. ant.*, 50; Pauli, 285; Gering, 60.

ALF. viii.—DISCIPLE AND SHEEP.

III. Alf., iii. 3; Gering, 66; *C. nov. ant.*, 31; *Enx.*, 85. IV. *Don Quix.*, i. 20; Pitrè, *Fiabi*, 138; Grimm, *KM.*, 86. V. Crane, *Ital. F.T.*, 156, 356.

* "Expect thirty-two villanies from the limping,
And eighty from the one-eyed man,
But when the hunchback comes,
Say, 'Lord defend us.'"

ALF. ix.—WOLF, LABOURER, FOX AND CHEESE.

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PO. vi.—BURIED DOG.

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[Added by Caxton to clear out, as it were, the bad taste of the Poggiana from our mouth; probably a true anecdote of his time.]

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PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay
on 10 August, 2018